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The Secret of Creation

Stefan Zweig as Collector, Eulogist and Biographer of Balzac

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The Secret of Creation

Stefan Zweig as Collector, Eulogist and Biographer of
Balzac

Pardaad Chamsaz

A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the requirements for award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts.

SCHOOL OF MODERN LANGUAGES

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Abstract

Stefan Zweig's devotion to mediating cultural history has often been dismissed for its hyperbole, its lack of engagement with socio-political factors, and its proximity to a cult of genius around contemporary authors. This thesis does not deny Zweig's tendency towards abstraction and his flight from the real but seeks to complicate such idealism by rethinking three particular groups of texts in their *material* contexts. First, thanks to the project's proximity to the British Library's Stefan Zweig Collection, the discussion develops a theoretical understanding of Zweig as collector and as a reader of manuscripts. Focusing on the materiality of textual production and reception, Zweig's essays animate an encounter with manuscripts that are as much to do with traces as they are authors. Ultimately, the author searches for the secret of *creation*, not *the creator*. Second, the thesis considers Zweig's eulogies as a distinct genre, making the case that such texts respond to *specific* deaths, and thus cannot be read simply for harmonizing rhetorical strategies. The social, literary and personal contexts become significant in the re-interpretation of a genre that entails a process of mourning. Third, the focus on material texts and on remembering creative figures is united in a discussion of Zweig's unfinished Balzac biography. It makes the case that Zweig's lifelong preoccupation with Balzac had a *textual* basis, as Balzac's own manuscripts, his letters, diaries, reflections, and works ultimately *infected* Zweig's process. This lays the ground to expand Zweig's biography to include its compositional process and this section uses archival material to interpret the revisions made by the biographer between first and second drafts. Ultimately, rethinking Zweig's writing in terms of his own sustained interest in literary materiality opens it to new critical relationships. For Zweig, nothing can be understood without an understanding of the secret of creation.

Acknowledgments

This thesis is the result of a collaborative project in many respects. I would like to thank my supervisors at the University of Bristol, Dr Steffan Davies and Professor Robert Vilain, who helped shape and challenge my ideas and who have remained patient over the years, never failing to reinvigorate the writing in times of doubt. Also, this thesis would not have been written, were it not for Susan Reed, who initiated the project, and who, with Janet Zmroczek, inducted me into the singular world of the British Library. The collaboration with the British Library and the University of Bristol on this unique project has provided life-changing opportunities that continue to resonate. I would also like to acknowledge the support of the Arts and Humanities Research Council throughout and, for his administrative support and encouragement to travel for research, I thank James Perkins at the British Library.

There has been another side to this thesis, a rare chance to contribute to the cultural output of a major heritage institution. For enthusiastically welcoming my work on the published catalogue, on the study day, the evening performance, and the exhibition in the Treasures Gallery at the British Library, I would particularly like to thank, again, Susan Reed, Sandra Tuppen, Pam Porter, Scot McKendrick, and Richard Chesser, amongst many others who helped bring the Zweig Collection to life.

Researching Zweig has taken this project to places near and far, which could only have been achieved through the generous funding of the AHRC and the British Library, but also through the generosity of archives and scholars I encountered along the way. For the innumerable scans and unexpected friendships over two visits, I am indebted to the Archives & Special Collections of the Daniel A. Reed Library at the State University of New York at Fredonia, and especially to Kim Taylor. I would also like to thank Oliver Matuschek for his constant interest and invaluable insight into the history of all things Zweig. Most of all, I would like to acknowledge the support of the Heirs to Stefan Zweig, whose passion for Zweig's legacy was a constant source of inspiration.

No one writes a thesis in isolation and this was nowhere truer than at the British Library, where I was lucky to be part of a community of collaborative students. I cannot begin to thank Katie McElvanney and Michael Carey for just being there, for making me work and for distracting me in good measure.

Finally, this thesis has not just been mine for nearly five years; friends and family lived with it, interrogated it, did not get it, and did so while always supporting me. I hope I can one day be the same support to those close to me: my mother, my brothers, and my good friends. I reserve the last acknowledgement for the one person who has actually lived with this thesis, who at the beginning in 2014 was friend and is now both friend and family. I would have never done this without your patience and love, so this is for you, Melissa.

Author's Declaration

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the University's *Regulations and Code of Practice for Research Degree Programmes* and that it has not been submitted for any other academic award. Except where indicated by specific reference in the text, the work is the candidate's own work. Work done in collaboration with, or with the assistance of, others, is indicated as such. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

SIGNED:

DATE: 12.06.2019

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Abbreviations

B I	Stefan Zweig, <i>Briefe 1897-1914</i> , ed. by Knut Beck, Jeffrey B. Berlin, and Natascha Weschenbach-Feggeler (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1995)
B II	Stefan Zweig, <i>Briefe 1914-1919</i> , ed. by Knut Beck, Jeffrey B. Berlin, and Natascha Weschenbach-Feggeler (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1998)
B III	Stefan Zweig, <i>Briefe 1920-1931</i> , ed. by Knut Beck and Jeffrey B. Berlin (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2000)
B IV	Stefan Zweig, <i>Briefe 1932-1942</i> , ed. by Knut Beck and Jeffrey B. Berlin (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2005)
BZ	Stefan Zweig, <i>Balzac</i> , ed. by Knut Beck (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1990) [<i>Gesammelte Werke in Einzelbänden</i>]
GWE	<i>Gesammelte Werke in Einzelbänden</i> , ed. by Knut Beck, 36 vols (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1981-1990)
HB	<i>Stefan-Zweig-Handbuch: Leben - Werk – Wirkung</i> , ed. by Arturo Larcati and Klemens Renoldner (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018)
M	Oliver Matuschek, <i>Ich kenne den Zauber der Schrift: Katalog und Geschichte der Autographensammlung Stefan Zweig; mit kommentiertem Abdruck von Stefan Zweigs Aufsätzen über das Sammeln von Handschriften</i> (Vienna: Inlibris, 2005)
WVG	Stefan Zweig, <i>Die Welt von Gestern: Erinnerungen eines Europäers</i> , ed. by Oliver Matuschek (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2017)

Introduction

*Aus diesem Gefühl, nicht selbst mehr
Mittelpunkt und Sinn dieses Buches zu
sein, sondern bloß Mittler von Werten
und Erlebnissen*

*Zweig, Begegnungen mit Menschen,
Büchern, Städten*

Stefan Zweig has been dismissed by many as emblematic of a *fin-de-siècle* aestheticism that reduced history to individual psychology and that evaded direct political engagement in favour of mediating a history of cultural accomplishments, ultimately crystallized in a nostalgic evocation of ideal cosmopolitanism in the pre-war Vienna of *Die Welt von Gestern*. Zweig's lens was undoubtedly aesthetic, viewing 'Die Geschichte als Dichterin',¹ 'Die Autographensammlung als Kunstwerk',² and even suggesting, in the midst of his temporary First World War enthusiasm, 'Auch eine Nation ist ein Kunstwerk'.³ Zweig's 'flight from history, politics, from detail in general, from particularity, into the abstractions of intellect and beauty',⁴ manifested itself in a *faith* in Progress alongside a rhetorical undermining of that same Progress. A venerated aesthetic realm stood apart from political reality to serve as only a reminder of the isolated moral superiority of art, without corrupting beauty by instrumentalizing it politically. An impotent, tragic historical approach fed into an immensely popular biographical oeuvre, extracting the great individuals and the great individual moments of history, which, at the extreme, helped cultivate a susceptibility to the heroic ideal and a bourgeois resignation to the futility of contesting the status quo.

¹ Stefan Zweig, 'Die Geschichte als Dichterin' (1931), *Neues Wiener Tageblatt* (22 November 1931), pp. 2-3, also in *Zeit und Welt. Gesammelte Aufsätze und Vorträge 1904-1940*, ed. by Richard Friedenthal (Stockholm: Winterthur, 1946), pp. 337-60.

² Stefan Zweig, 'Die Autographensammlung als Kunstwerk', *Deutscher Bibliophilen-Kalender: Jahrbuch für Bücherfreunde und Büchersammler* (1914), reproduced as a facsimile insert in M, separately numbered pp. 1-7.

³ Stefan Zweig, 'An die Freunde im Fremdland', *Berliner Tageblatt* (19 September 1914), pp. 2-3, also in GWE *Die schlaflose Welt. Aufsätze und Vorträge aus den Jahren 1909-1941* (1983), pp. 42-47.

⁴ Leon Botstein, 'Stefan Zweig and the Illusion of the Jewish European', *Jewish Social Studies*, 44 (1982), 63-84 (p. 72).

With the defence of Viennese aestheticism as not exclusive from politics,⁵ and the distance from Marxist critical theory's diagnosis of the early twentieth-century bourgeois intellectual sphere, Zweig's writing has been revived as popular literature and critically reevaluated, most recently alongside modernism and world literature.⁶ Zweig's prolific virtuosity and 'Tendenz zur Unentschlossenheit' has thus been recontextualized within a literary modernity defined as indefinable, ambivalent, contradictory.⁷ This reframing of Zweig's 'schwankende Haltung'⁸ retains the problematic nature of his contradictions but allows nuanced interpretations of an author who experienced and responded to a modernity characterized by political, literary and subjective instability.

This study is situated amongst these re-evaluations, as it opens Zweig's work to new theoretical ideas that highlight both the anticipatory potential and the rhetorical limits of three under-researched aspects of the *œuvre*: his essays on manuscripts; his eulogies; and his creative process towards the unfinished biography of Balzac. The first section is derived from a proximity to the British Library's Stefan Zweig Collection of Autograph Manuscripts, a collection which inspired the collaborative research project between the British Library and the University of Bristol. While a history of the collection has been published,⁹ this thesis is concerned with a theoretical understanding of Zweig as collector and as a reader of manuscripts. Few have considered Zweig's essays animating the *experience* of the manuscript encounter and, in their focus on the materiality of textual production and reception, these essays expand interpretations of Zweig's concept of creativity beyond the authorial figure. After all, Zweig sought the secret of *creation*, not the secret of the *creator*.

Recent studies of Zweig's collecting practice shift the emphasis away from conventional interpretations of 'this professional adorer, schmoozer, inheritor and collector, owner of Beethoven's desk and Goethe's pen and Leonardo and Mozart manuscripts and busy Balzac proofs and contemporaries out the wazoo'.¹⁰ Instead, studies by Ulrike Vedder and George

⁵ See *Rethinking Vienna 1900*, ed. by Steven Beller (New York: Berghahn, 2001), especially Beller, 'Introduction', pp. 1-26, and Scott Spector, 'Marginalizations: Politics and Culture beyond *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*', pp. 132-53.

⁶ *Stefan Zweig: Positionen der Moderne*, ed. Martina Wörgötter (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2017); *Stefan Zweig and World Literature: Twenty-First Century Perspectives*, ed. by Birger Vanwesenbeeck and Mark H. Gelber (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2014).

⁷ Martina Wörgötter, 'Einleitung', *Positionen der Moderne*, pp. 7-16 (p. 8).

⁸ Joseph Roth to Stefan Zweig, 7 November 1933: B IV, p. 127.

⁹ Oliver Matuschek, *Ich kenne den Zauber der Schrift: Katalog und Geschichte der Autographensammlung Stefan Zweig; mit kommentiertem Abdruck von Stefan Zweigs Aufsätzen über das Sammeln von Handschriften* (Vienna: Inlibris, 2005)

¹⁰ Michael Hofmann, 'Vermicular Dither', *London Review of Books*, 32.2 (January 2010), p. 9.

Prochnik, amongst others, refocus on Zweig's articulation of the manuscript encounter in his essays.¹¹ Both re-insert aspects of duration and material engagement in Zweig's reading experience alongside the search for momentary inspiration. However, Prochnik's short piece only aims to describe Zweig's approach and does not contextualise it against modern theories of reading and materialist literary criticism. Thus, the potential of Zweig's focus on process and on the literary object do not come to the fore. Vedder does introduce new theoretical interlocutors to Zweig's essays, namely Derrida and the phenomenological notion of 'paradoxical phenomenality'.¹² Vedder's essay goes furthest to re-interpret Zweig's approach to manuscripts but does not qualify his materialist novelty against a Romantic author-concept that restricts any suggestion of working process. Zweig's insistence on the processual is taken at face value, neglecting the frequent rhetorical contradictions around a parallel idiom of seizure and stasis. The *Zweig Handbuch* includes chapters on the concepts 'Das Schöpferische' and 'Der künstlerische Prozess', both of which briefly deal with these tensions.¹³ Following these useful overviews, this thesis aims to present both Zweig's reading of manuscripts and his collecting practice in their complexity, indicating the novelty of his approach while identifying the inherent rhetorical ambiguities that stops that approach from being completely consistent with contemporary materialist literary criticism.

The second section shifts the ground from collection to re-collection, as it considers Zweig's eulogies as a distinct genre. Often treated as the most emphatic examples of hyperbolic paeans to literary contemporaries, and always conflated with other types of essay, Zweig's eulogies have not been understood as responses to specific deaths. Seen in their social, personal and literary contexts over four decades, these texts and presentations are re-read here to show eclectic responses to close friends and distant peers, literary legends and political personalities, Austrians and others. This section understands eulogies as a manifestation of literary mourning, which entails both conventional template commemorations and agonized responses, introducing a consideration of narratorial *responsibility* in the response; how does the rhetoric *do justice* to the deceased other?

¹¹ Ulrike Vedder, 'Zur Magie der Handschrift. Stefan Zweig als Autographensammler', in *Zweigs England*, ed. by Rüdiger Görner and Klemens Renoldner (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2014), pp. 141-151; and George Prochnik, "'A Touch of Eternity'", *The Lancet*, 2 (2015), pp. 968-970. See also Christiane Mühlegger-Henhapl, "'Etwas wunderbar Substanzloses.'" Die Autographensammlung Stefan Zweigs im Wiener Theaternmuseum', in *Stefan Zweig: Abschied von Europa*, ed. by Klemens Renoldner (Vienna: Christian Brandstätter Verlag, 2014), pp. 215-238.

¹² Vedder, p. 146.

¹³ *Stefan-Zweig-Handbuch: Leben - Werk - Wirkung*, ed. by Arturo Larcatti and Klemens Renoldner (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), see Rüdiger Görner, 'Das Schöpferische', pp. 657-61, and Mathias Mayer, 'Der künstlerische Prozess', in HB, pp. 661-65.

This section on the eulogistic œuvre follows in the wake of Mark Gelber's chapter on Zweig as 'Austrian eulogist', the only study to consider the eulogy as a distinct genre.¹⁴ Gelber points to the lack of research devoted to these works and attempts to homogenize the rhetorical tropes within them, ultimately identifying the unified purpose of 'transforming life impulses into literary productivity at the moment of death'.¹⁵ While Gelber usefully highlights the shared rhetoric between such pieces across time, his study works simultaneously to undo the differences of each death. By emphasizing the instrumentalization of death for 'life impulses', his analysis transforms Zweig's eulogies into responses to lives and not deaths, failing to acknowledge writing as a mourning process. The second section thus attempts to address the nuances of Zweig's eulogies within a highly pre-constructed rhetorical tradition.

The third section unites the material aspects of creativity with Zweig's focus on creative figures, as it analyses Zweig's engagement with his most exemplary creative figure, Balzac. Zweig's unfinished biography of Balzac has been the object of scholarship, but no comprehensive archival study has appeared, despite the existence of a significant archive relating to the work. The section provides an interpretation of the revisions made by the biographer between first and second drafts. In so doing, it makes the case that Zweig's lifelong preoccupation with Balzac had a *textual* basis, as he considered Balzac manuscripts the pinnacle of artistic creativity, and undertook a *dialogue* with the letters, diaries, reflections, works of the self-mythologizer in the process of writing the biography, a process that is ultimately *infected* by his subject's own process, and more so by the subject's material excess. The Balzac biography thus cannot be understood without an understanding of its composition, and, to paraphrase Zweig and to return to the first section, cultural phenomena cannot be understood without an understanding of the secret of their creation.

There has been critical consideration of Zweig's *Balzac* and yet it has not incorporated a comprehensive analysis of the drafts. Georg Huemer's Masters Thesis most recently covered the span of Zweig's lifelong engagement with Balzac and shows how central the influence was.¹⁶ His essay comes closest to articulating the inherent impossibility of completing the biography, following the comments of *Balzac* editor Richard Friedenthal. Friedenthal's own afterword to the biography have understandably proved influential to subsequent analyses and he makes the

¹⁴ Mark H. Gelber, 'Stefan Zweig as (Austrian) Eulogist', in *Stefan Zweig Reconsidered* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2007), pp. 151-162.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

¹⁶ Georg Huemer, 'Stefan Zweig als Biograph von Balzac' (unpublished Masters Thesis, Universität Wien, 2010), p. 60, <<http://othes.univie.ac.at/9637/>> [accessed 12 May 2019].

case for the similarity between Zweig's and Balzac's drafts themselves.¹⁷ Most essays directed towards the unfinished biography make the case for its singularity among Zweig's works. Joseph Strelka refers to *Balzac* as Zweig's most accomplished work but purely as the greatest and most definitive example of the same biographical tropes.¹⁸ By bringing Zweig's documentary interest in Balzac's drafts together with his approach to writing the biography, this section aims to account for its singularity in a more comprehensive manner, which also creates the space for a close interpretation of Zweig's own compositional process.

The three sections are distinct studies of distinct material, but they also share common themes that exist across Zweig's creative practice. Privileged amongst them is the secret of creation, what Zweig sees as fundamental to any understanding of humanity: 'wenn wir die ganze Welt anblicken mit ihren Rätseln, das tiefste und geheimnisvollste von allen bleibt doch das Geheimnis der Schöpfung'.¹⁹ Zweig's cultural insistence on the significance of artistic creativity is unique because it takes on ethical proportions, so that '[t]he poetic transvaluation of private perception and experience is not a personal indulgence but a positive public duty'.²⁰ In his introduction to the collection of essays *Begegnungen mit Menschen, Büchern, Städten*, he articulates this explicitly, indicating his *service* to the work of others:

Aber wenn dieses Buch wirklich im Sinne eine Einheit darstellt, so ist es einzig durch meinen Lebenswillen zur Überparteilichkeit in allen Dingen geworden, durch die unbeugsame Anspannung, auch das Fremdeste zu verstehen, immer Völker und Zeiten, Gestalten und Werke nur in ihrem positiven, ihrem schöpferischen Sinne zu bewerten und durch solches Verstehen wollen und Verstehenmachen demütig, aber treu unserem unzerstörbaren Ideal zu dienen: der humanen Verständigung zwischen Menschen, Gesinnungen, Kulturen und Nationen.²¹

Zweig demands an enthusiastic celebration of humanity's creative potential and as a consequence allows his service to others to sometimes take the form of awestruck worship. Yet,

¹⁷ Richard Friedenthal, 'Nachwort des Herausgebers', in BZ, p. 535-42.

¹⁸ Joseph P. Strelka, 'Stefan Zweig's "Big Balzac"', in Sonnenfeld (ed.), *The World of Yesterday's Humanist Today*, pp. 210-16.

¹⁹ Stefan Zweig, 'Sinn und Schönheit der Autographen' (lecture delivered at the Sunday Times Book Exhibition on the occasion of the exhibition of the Edward Speyer Collection, London, 15 November 1934), printed in *Philobiblon*, 8 (1935), 14-page supplement, reprinted in M, pp. 136-39 (p. 137).

²⁰ Lionel Steiman, 'The Worm in the Rose: Historical Destiny and Individual Action in Stefan Zweig's Vision of History', in Sonnenfeld (ed.), *The World of Yesterday's Humanist Today*, pp. 128-56 (p. 136).

²¹ Stefan Zweig, 'Einleitung', in *Begegnungen mit Menschen, Büchern, Städten* (Vienna: Herbert Reichner, 1937), pp. 5-6.

that which invites critics to class Zweig as part of a cult around genius is also what complicates his creative concept. Precisely through the insistence on authorial investment in creativity, as a means of illuminating human potential, Zweig develops a dualistic creativity that depends on both *inspiration* [*Inspiration*] and *work* [*Arbeit*]. The *work* aspect of creativity then leads Zweig to a materialist appreciation of creative process that is in evidence in the essays on manuscripts and in the prodigious worker and un-worker, Balzac.

A split creativity demands an appropriate approach from the critic and Zweig's writing always carries the tension between empathetic self-dissolution and critical self-assertion, between serving the other and serving an ideal, between experience and analysis. His words on Sainte-Beuve's critical practice surely hold for his own:

Verschiedenstes muß er [der große Kritiker] vereinigen, den Blick für das Zeitlose und den Nerv für die Zeit, das Relative der Stunde ebenso zu empfinden befähigt sein wie das Absolute der Werte, Vergangenes muß er gewärtig haben im Sinne der Bildung, das Werdende aber mit dem magischen Auge der Ahnung vorausfühlen. [...] immer ist von ihm in jeder Hinsicht ein Doppeltes verlangt: Enthusiasmus und ruhige Erkenntnis. Liebe und Gerechtigkeit, Künstlertum und Wissenschaft, Demut vor dem Werk und gleichzeitig über das Geschaffene.²²

Zweig's tendency towards mystery is often emphasized by critics to the neglect of his interest in material work and this balance attends all three sections of this thesis. A fidelity to the object, whether that is a fragmentary manuscript, a deceased friend, or a biographical hero, is always in negotiation with a fidelity to an ideal in Zweig's writing.

As a self-identified mediator of cultural heritage, Zweig, in his essays on manuscripts, eulogies, and a biography of Balzac, also participates in forms of memory construction. Cultural practice materializes and remembers what is contingent and at risk of oblivion and in this way is involved in a process of staving off death. This is obvious in the case of eulogies, which conventionally enact a resurrection of the deceased by bestowing immortality upon the legacy, a burden shared by the community but also carried in the text. Eulogies are restorative and constructive remembrances that orient the future of a society following loss. Biographies enter a similar space, especially in the early twentieth century, when the rise of popular biography is

²² Stefan Zweig, 'Sainte-Beuve', *Neue Freie Presse* (6 May 1923), pp. 1-5, also in GWE *Das Geheimnis des künstlerischen Schaffens: Essays* (1984), pp. 163-78 (pp. 163-64).

linked to a popular demand for a certain kind of identity construction and narrative.²³ Collecting is, perhaps more than the other two practices, a construction of an order outside of the disorder of reality. In all three, that construction of memory is at risk of seizure, at risk of entering a museal space, where objects are abstracted from their original vitality and unproductive in the present, where objects are 'in the process of dying'.²⁴ As Zweig is constantly invested in *making present* these cultural phenomena, the question arises, to what extent does Zweig respond to objects (manuscripts, the deceased, Balzac) such that they are *brought into the present* and re-made for present purposes, and to what extent is Zweig's response a *return to the present* of the object in a fixed, idealized moment of cultural creativity. This is at the heart of all Zweig's mediatory writing.

²³ See Jan Romein, *Die Biographie. Einführung in ihre Geschichte und ihre Problematik* (Bern: Francke, 1948); Leo Löwenthal, 'Die Biographische Mode', *Sociologica*, 1 (1955), 363-86; and Helmut Scheuer, *Biographie: Studien zur Funktion und zum Wandel einer literarischen Gattung vom 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1979).

²⁴ Theodor W. Adorno, 'Valéry Proust Museum', in Adorno, *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. by Rolf Tiedemann. 20 vols (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1970-86), vol 10: *Kulturkritik und Gesellschaft. Prismen. Ohne Leitbild. Eingriffe. Stichworte*, p. 181-94 (p. 181).

Section A: The Collector

Bau dir deine eigene Welt.

Zweig, Montaigne

1 Why the Manuscript Collection?

Explicitly distinguishing his collecting practice from writing, Stefan Zweig suggests in *Die Welt von Gestern*:

Ich darf wohl sagen – was ich nie im Hinblick auf Literatur oder ein anderes Gebiet des Lebens auszusprechen wagen würde –, daß ich in diesen dreißig oder vierzig Jahren des Sammelns eine erste Autorität auf dem Gebiete der Handschriften geworden war und von jedem bedeutenden Blatte wußte, wo es lag, wem es gehörte und wie es zu seinem Besitzer gewandert war, ein wirklicher Kenner also, der Echtheit auf den ersten Blick bestimmen konnte und in der Bewertung erfahrener als die meisten Professionellen war. (WVG, p. 373)

Whether or not the basic motivation for collecting involved the same humanistic strivings as his writing, there is a fundamental difference in his self-appraisal as a collector. The willingness to assert his authority in the field led Zweig to publish consistently on the creativity of collecting and on the experience of reading manuscripts. His writing on his practice as a collector far outweighs his reflections on his practice as a writer and this chapter seeks to assert the centrality of collecting to any study of Zweig's creativity.

The significance of the collection for Zweig is evident in his insistence on the creativity of shaping a collection – 'die Autographensammlung als Kunstwerk' – and in its reflection of the collector's life, as 'Spiegel und Bildnis meiner Lebensneigung'.²⁵ In the words of Oliver Matuschek, 'the history of Stefan Zweig's collection reflects the history of his life' (M, p. 432) and Matuschek's history comprehensively addresses a critical neglect of the collection. Yet, it focuses on a history of the collection's composition and dispersal and does not probe Zweig's

²⁵ Stefan Zweig, 'Handschriften als schöpferische Dokumente', in *Berliner Tageblatt* (7 November 1926), reprinted in M, p. 117.

reflections on experiencing manuscripts. Commentary on these reflections tends to conflate them with the rest of Zweig's writing, even when attempting to mark out the practice. Harry Zohn writes for example,

Far from being a mere hobby, this collection must be viewed as an integral part of Zweig's literary work. Stefan Zweig's activities as a collector may be regarded as yet another self-effacing way of approaching the works and serving the memories of great, admired artists, comparable to his faithful and reverent *Nachdichtungen*, translations, introductions, and works of criticism.²⁶

The custom to collect is often interpreted as exemplifying the kind of European humanist imperative articulated in his fiction, biographies and essays and this is true for supportive commentators as it is for his detractors.

This chapter's contention is that, in contrast to harmonising all Zweig's writing through the idea of service, he can be read differently through the manuscript collection. His essays on the subject undoubtedly share the connoisseurship, the delight in ownership, the awe before a proximal encounter with past genius, which is common to nineteenth-century collecting and consistent on some level in every collection. However, they also anticipate material and genetic approaches to text in their focus on process, trace and revision, marking Zweig's collection out, as he emphasizes himself, from Goethe's and other predecessors and peers. This balance between the authorial and the processual is most pronounced in his thoughts on the collection and thus these essays provide the fullest exposition of Zweig's creative concept.

Such an integration of the universal, psychological and material in Zweig's aesthetic reflections has been identified in recent criticism but this rarely analyses the essays on manuscripts. The entry on 'Der künstlerische Prozess' in the *Zweig-Handbuch* makes the case for the material focus behind the collection:

Zweigs vielfache, in seinen Texten wie in seiner Autographensammlung bekundete Faszination durch Handschriften erschöpft sich nicht im bloßen Sammeln, sondern wird von ihm als produktives Erkenntnisinstrument genutzt, die für philologisches, editorisches Arbeiten von Bedeutung ist [...] Seine Verquickung von Produktionsästhetik und Rezeption kann am ehesten als Impuls

²⁶ Harry Zohn, 'Stefan Zweig as a Collector of Manuscripts', *The German Quarterly*, 25 (1952), 182-191, p. 182.

für editorische Bemühungen und neue textgenetische Interessen an der Materialität des Schaffensprozesses gelten.²⁷

In other words, Mayer shows that Zweig's interest in collecting is by no means exhausted by the notion of amassing items, a view typified by Botstein's assessment that 'The only focus [of the collection] was fame, creativity, authenticity and greatness'.²⁸ Yet Mayer identifies a 'dokumentarisches Interesse'²⁹ without developing how it manifests in the manuscript essays and his comments therefore indicate the potential for further research, to which this chapter aims to contribute.

Similarly, Rüdiger Görner writes of Zweig's 'Insistieren auf der Untersuchung der materiellen *und* psychologischen Voraussetzungen des künstlerischen Schaffens', asserting the importance of artistic work in Zweig's 'Kreativitätstheorie als schöpferische Praxis'.³⁰ Görner focuses on Zweig's *theory* of artistic creativity, predominantly through the presentation 'Das Geheimnis des künstlerischen Schaffens'.³¹ Zweig's last presentation on the topic is an attempt to reconstruct and theorize the process of composition. While it retraces the themes of the manuscript essays, it is not a response to a manuscript encounter in the same way. Even when Görner points to 'art as experience', this remains a *theory* of art as experience and does not address the experience itself, which is better represented in the manuscript essays.

This idea of experience maps onto Zweig's own sense of his expertise in the narratorial approach to this set of essays. If in his biographies Zweig animates his subjects through a 'besonderes Einfühlungsvermögen',³² effectively adopting the position, if not voice and style, of the artist to recreate the scene of creation, in his manuscript essays he describes more the experience of reading, the encounter with the manuscript. Considering the opposition expert/servant, it follows that the author-servant-Zweig effaces his subjectivity in favour of embodying that of the other, the memorialized figure in his work. The collector-Zweig, however, retains his integrity as a subject so as to describe an aesthetic experience in a genuine encounter with the manuscript. In other words, Zweig evokes a dialogic experience in the way he describes

²⁷ Mathias Mayer, 'Der künstlerische Prozess', in HB, pp. 661-65 (p. 665).

²⁸ Botstein, p. 71.

²⁹ Mayer, p. 661.

³⁰ Rüdiger Görner, *Formen einer Sprachkunst* (Vienna: Sonderzahl, 2012). p. 9.

³¹ Stefan Zweig, 'Das Geheimnis des künstlerischen Schaffens', in GWE *Das Geheimnis des künstlerischen Schaffens: Essays* (1984), pp. 348-371.

³² Hilde Spiel, 'Ein Ruhm von gestern. Zum 100. Geburtstag von Stefan Zweig', in Ulrich Weinzierl, *Stefan Zweig: Triumph und Tragik. Aufsätze, Tagebuchnotizen, Briefe* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch, 1992) pp. 175-80 (p. 178).

an encounter – ‘belauschen wir ihn im innersten Raum seines Wesens: in der Werkstatt’³³ – where the emphasis is on listening, observing, feeling with all the uncertainty that entails, rather than solely on an imagination of the text’s production from the author’s perspective.

The material complexity of the reading experience is central to Zweig’s essays on manuscripts and it distinguishes them from the *Lebensroman* model of his biographies and the authorial focus of his essays on authors. While it might be said that the results of each kind of writing similarly betray a light text-analytical touch, the wholly different narratorial positions keep the writings distinct. Like Zweig’s biographies ‘im Stile nachschöpferischer Einfühlung’ that often do not offer ‘eine detaillierte Analyse der poetischen Texte’,³⁴ he shies away from detailed textual analysis of his manuscripts, suggesting, for example in the case of the immense Balzac proof of *Une Ténébreuse affaire*, ‘Die Einzelabweichungen erforderten ein mehrmonatliches Studium’.³⁵ In the narratorial position as reader, however, the lack of textual analysis is led by a resistance to simply deciphering the material traces in the manuscript, in favour of a productive concept of the secret. From the alternative perspective of his biographical narrator, the reluctance to analyse potentially reduces the complexity of his interpretation to psychological and characterological aspects. It is possible, therefore, to view Zweig’s tendency to avoid detailed analysis as simultaneously complexifying and simplifying, as a virtue and a flaw, depending on the kind of essay and the narratorial position.

Finally, Ulrike Vedder has best shown the significance of the manuscript essays and has gone furthest to suggest, like Mayer above, how Zweig’s ideas may interact with modern textual criticism. Vedder highlights many of the elements of Zweig’s experience that this section will develop, most importantly the material quality of traces that evokes a presence that is not simply equivalent to an author but is closer to a materialisation of creative *process*.³⁶ While Vedder’s intervention complicates Zweig’s approach to manuscripts, it fails to contextualize his novelty against his ever-present Romantic-influenced veneration for the author figure and the interest in the intangibility of inspiration. Zweig is a bridge between a theoretical tradition of

³³ Zweig, ‘Sinn und Schönheit der Autographen’, in M, p.137.

³⁴ Karl Müller, ‘Das Dämonische “innen im Kreise der Natur”’: Stefan Zweigs Reflexionen über das Künstlertum’, in *Stefan Zweig und das Dämonische*, ed. by Matjaž Birk and Thomas Eicher (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2008), pp. 12-35 (p. 26).

³⁵ London, British Library, Add MSS 73168.

³⁶ Ulrike Vedder, ‘Zur Magie der Handschrift. Stefan Zweig als Autographensammler’, in *Zweigs England*, ed. by Rüdiger Görner and Klemens Renoldner (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2014), pp. 141-151.

authorial originality and a modern textual materiality and these two aspects are in constant tension.

This section therefore aims first and foremost to bring to the fore Zweig's material encounter with manuscripts and to show how modern theoretical approaches to texts are anticipated in these essays. At the same time, that material reading is contextualized against a contrary impulse to dematerialize the very artistic process which his essays enliven. It is a matter of understanding how Zweig 'illuminated the *spiritual* process of creation [where] Zweig *dissolved* (so to speak) the very details of his own possessions',³⁷ alongside the opposite process of making process present and alive, re-materialising the smallest traces in his manuscripts. Both are true and fundamental to Zweig's aesthetics. This balance is often understood through Zweig's pithy articulation in 'Das Geheimnis des künstlerischen Schaffens': 'Wenn wir also zu einer Formel kommen wollen, so darf das eigentliche Geschehnis im künstlerischen Prozess nicht heißen "Inspiration *oder* Arbeit", sondern "Inspiration *plus* Arbeit"'.³⁸ Yet this statement only addresses the theoretical approach to creativity and the empathetic reconstruction of the creator's process. It can also be rearticulated on the level of the reader's experience, on the level of aesthetic encounter. 'Inspiration plus Arbeit' is a theorisation at one remove from what Zweig experiences as the 'Mysterium der Schöpfung'³⁹ and the 'lebendiges Fleisch der schon gestaltenden Arbeit'⁴⁰: in other words, the magic and the body of manuscripts.

2 History and Premise

The history of the collection has been comprehensively covered by Matuschek and is glossed elsewhere.⁴¹ This section will not recapitulate that history as its objective is to contextualize the collecting practice and to study the representation of aesthetic experience in the encounter

³⁷ Botstein, p. 72, my emphasis.

³⁸ Zweig, 'Das Geheimnis', p. 365.

³⁹ Zweig, 'Eine Faksimileausgabe von Heines "Deutschland, ein Wintermärchen"', *Das literarische Echo*, 18 (13) (1916), reprinted in M, pp. 91-93 (p. 91).

⁴⁰ Zweig, 'Die unterirdischen Bücher Balzacs', *Das Inselfschiff*, 2 (1920), in M, pp. 96-99 (p. 98).

⁴¹ See for example Arthur Searle, *The British Library Stefan Zweig Collection. Catalogue of the music manuscripts* (London: British Library, 1999); and Pardaad Chamsaz, 'Stefan Zweig: A Prince among Collectors of Autograph Manuscripts' in *The British Library Stefan Zweig Collection. Catalogue of the Literary and Historical Manuscripts* (London: British Library, 2017), pp. ix-xxiii.

with manuscripts. Nevertheless, it will serve this section to give an overview of the collection's development and its central motivations.

Stefan Zweig's passion for collecting began with stamps before he developed an early passion for autographs (signatures) of famous cultural personalities. Friderike Zweig maintains that, at age 12, Zweig accosted Brahms on the street and asked him for his autograph.⁴² This incident may be exaggerated: Matuschek favours the account in *Die Welt von Gestern*, which describes Zweig being introduced to Brahms, who then gave him a pat on the shoulder that all the same gave Zweig days' worth of pleasure. Autograph or not, the incident represents the young, awestruck would-be collector of famous names. The first handwritten page he received from an author came after many fruitless months of requesting autograph manuscripts via post. Julius von Stettenheim, author of the *Wippchen* books, which the Zweig brothers avidly read, sent Stefan a short poem referring to the very context of the request. Alfred, Stefan's older brother, suggested the reason for the increased number of responses was that Stefan started to enclose a stamped addressed return envelope. A couple of years later he attended an auction in Vienna for the first time and purchased a Friedrich Hebbel manuscript, having inherited a large sum from his grandparents (M, p. 10).

Before he was 16, Zweig began to trade manuscripts with other collectors and already had a considerable collection. In a letter to Karl Emil Franzos in 1898, he lists some of the pieces he owns, including items by Wieland, Anzengruber, Beethoven and a sheet signed by Goethe. Even at this early stage Zweig discriminates against letters, which he offers Franzos, 'die für mich, der Manuskripte und Originalgedichte sammelt, nur von geringem Werte sind'.⁴³ This early theme would be nuanced throughout the rest of his active collecting period. It is also at this point that Zweig's first poems appeared in magazines and in 1901 his first volume of poetry, *Silberne Saiten*, was published by the Berlin publishers Schuster und Loeffler. His growing literary profile advanced his collection, as fellow authors such as Hofmannsthal and Rilke gifted him manuscripts. With each requesting letter, Zweig honed a more coherent depiction of the still amorphous grouping. In a letter to Ellen Key, a long-time correspondent, in 1905, he refers to the infancy of his project, while asking for one of her draft writings. In return, Zweig writes, 'Ich kann als Dank nur versprechen, es herzlich lieb zu haben'.⁴⁴ A year and a half later, he reiterates this infancy ('Ich bin kein Autographensammler, ab und zu kaufe ich mir die Handschrift eines Gedichtes, das ich liebe') to Rilke, before continuing, in a contrary tack, to list

⁴² Friderike Maria Zweig, *Stefan Zweig: Eine Bildbiographie* (Munich: Kindler, 1961), p.13.

⁴³ Zweig to Karl Emil Franzos, 18 February 1898: B I, p.14.

⁴⁴ Zweig to Ellen Key, 12 August 1905: B I, p. 105.

quite a few significant items so as to convince Rilke of the worthy company his work will be in: 'Ein paar Schöne habe ich schon [...]', listing Goethe's later version of 'Mailed', amongst others.⁴⁵ Rilke sends two manuscripts for the poems 'Papageien Park' and 'Archaischer Torso Apollos' (M, p. 13). To an extent, Zweig is still unsure of himself in these correspondences, yet his collection builds thanks to these gifts.

Zweig's engagement with French and Belgian literature as translator and mediator in his early years as a writer led to more renown and a different antiquarian market, both of which facilitated the gradual expansion of his collection. Two moments mark the project's shift from a burgeoning to an established collection and also the shift from Zweig's modesty towards confidence in the value of the collection. Firstly, although he had often articulated his collecting philosophy and criteria in correspondences and amongst friends, 1913 was the year of his first essay on his collection and on collecting as an activity. 'Vom Autographensammeln' was published in the *Vossische Zeitung* in Berlin and was reworked and expanded a year later as 'Die Autographensammlung als Kunstwerk'. Confidence in the collection's worth had now reached the point where Zweig engaged publicly in the ideas around it. Yet this was no open advertisement of his treasures – indeed, it was deliberately published outside of Vienna, not for any insecurity about the collection itself, rather:

Ich hätte, offen gesagt, den Aufsatz nicht gerne in der Neuen Freien Presse gesehen, einerseits weil er mir hier in Wien Neugierige angelockt hätte, die meine Sammlung besehen wollten und zweitens weil ich gar nicht mag, dass man hier in Wien weiß, einen wie beträchtlichen Teil meiner Einkünfte ich dem Sammlerteufel zediere.⁴⁶

There is also a progression in the titles of the two essays from Zweig as an initiate in collecting towards becoming a genuine collector – the difference between *sammeln* and *Sammlung*.

These early thoughts on the principle of his collection articulated a desire to experience the secret of creation through an artwork's emergence in manuscript drafts. Works in progress would present the key to that experience, as a manuscript had to be 'noch von der Schöpfung warm',⁴⁷ in order to understand 'dieses Zurücktreten eines Seins in sein Werden, eines Geschaffenen in sein Entstehen'.⁴⁸ In this first essay, Zweig also writes about an approach to collecting that avoids the dual threats of dilettantism and commercialism on the path to shaping

⁴⁵ Zweig to Rainer Maria Rilke, 11 March 1907: B I, p. 142.

⁴⁶ Zweig to Hans Feigl, 22 August 1913: B I, p. 277.

⁴⁷ Zweig to Ernst Hardt, Summer 1913: Stefan Zweig, *Briefe an Freunde*, ed. by Richard Friedenthal (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1978), p. 24

⁴⁸ Zweig, 'Die Autographensammlung als Kunstwerk', p. 3.

an artwork: 'Nur Ernst und Leidenschaft steigern den Dilettanten zum wirklichen Sammler, nur Persönlichkeit der Wahl und des Geschmacks unterscheidet ihn vom Händler'. That passion manifests in the collector's requisite 'Ehrfurcht' before an object, recalling Goethe's notion of 'dreifache Ehrfurcht' in *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre*, which situates humility and veneration at the centre of the guiding worldview. Ultimately, this approach can lead to the creation of a world alongside our own and in this ambition a collection can become an artwork.⁴⁹

With the transformative visit to Rodin's studio in 1913, following in the footsteps of Hofmannsthal and Rilke before him, and the acquisition in March 1914 of the immense collected proofs for Balzac's police novel *Une Ténébreuse affaire*, Zweig developed a more acute interest in the creative process and this became the principal subject of his essays on manuscripts. Alongside, his growing expertise and reputation in the field led to pronouncements on topics such as facsimile editions, catalogues, and other collections. The reputation of the collection itself and Zweig's prominence as an author through the 1910s and more so in the interwar years contributed to an expansion of the collection due both to his increased income and to a continuous flow of donations. Musical items increasingly found a place amongst the literary drafts, proofs and fair copies and in 1931 Zweig made the purchase of not only notes and letters once belonging to Beethoven but also the composer's writing desk, violin and a random assortment of objects, creating what he referred to as a 'Beethoven museum'. The reliquary aspect of this portion of the collection stood in contrast to the drafts and fragments of creative documents that made up the rest.

The hostility of the mid-1930s soon changed Zweig's relationship to collecting as he began to express his desire to part with his life's treasures. In 1933 Zweig began the process of donating manuscripts and a large selection of letters received from contemporary authors to the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem. 1934 was a turning point for the collector, as his house was searched by the authorities, signalling his lack of security from that point on under new political conditions. He decided to leave Austria that year and he made plans to donate and eventually sell the majority of his collection. 1934 was also the year of perhaps the most significant essay on manuscripts, 'Sinn und Schönheit der Autographen', which was his first public presentation on the topic.

With Zweig in London from 1934 and his possessions increasingly precarious in Salzburg, the collection was dispersed. In truth, as Matuschek writes, it was also a chance for Zweig to be selective and remove 'burdensome' material of little personal connection (M, p. 60). Another

⁴⁹ Zweig, 'Die Autographensammlung als Kunstwerk', pp. 2-3.

source of frustration for Zweig was the drawn-out procedure regarding a catalogue of his collection, work on which had begun in 1931. Zweig had kept the collection in professional order and his essays for bibliophile publications often incorporated brief lists of his manuscripts and scores for an interested readership.⁵⁰ However, a catalogue would have represented the solidification of a collection destined to be in flux and guaranteed its legacy. Its failure to appear contributed to the gradual distance from the original project. As Philipp Blom has it, 'without his catalogue, every major collector has to fear the dispersal of his collection and his own descent into obscurity. A catalogue is not an appendage to a large collection, it is its apogee'.⁵¹

The subsequent period was one of refinement, as Zweig terms it in his memoirs. The collection was not completely dispersed but items deemed of lesser importance were sold, predominantly to the collector Martin Bodmer, over two sales in 1936-37, while Zweig continued to collect more selectively. Considerations were both aesthetic but now also financial, as manuscripts represented a more efficient means of preserving and transferring money. Music and even fine art became more prominent in the collection as more stable retainers of value but also as part of a more universal, if not also depersonalized, schema.

'Sinn und Schönheit der Autographen' remained his last comprehensive reflection on the subject of manuscripts. The later 'Das Geheimnis des künstlerischen Schaffens' was pulled together from earlier drafts of a more wide-ranging book on creative process (M, p. 81). Two extended passages are also devoted to the collection in Zweig's memoirs and feature at important junctures, reaffirming the centrality of the practice to his life.

Two letters to his friend Heinrich Eisemann written in the months before Zweig took his life in February 1942 return the now distant but ever-present topic to the fore, as he expresses a mix of regret and indifference towards his collection in the full context of his predicament. In July 1941 he writes, 'My interest in books and autographs [sic] has also completely disappeared, they are for me so impersonal as if they would be in a catalogue as I am sure I will never have more occasion to enjoy them'. And in December 1941 this disinterest is reiterated:

I myself unfortunately have lost all interest in collecting. In order to collect you need a house, a home, stability, outer safety and inner peace - all things which I have not got any more. And besides this the sixtieth birthday brings nearer the thought: for

⁵⁰ See Zweig, 'Die Autographensammlung als Kunstwerk' and 'Meine Autographensammlung', *Philobiblon*, 3 (September 1930), 279-92, reprinted in M, pp. 128-32.

⁵¹ Philipp Blom, *To Have and to Hold: An Intimate History of Collectors and Collecting* (London: Penguin, 2003), p. 215.

whom? - It was a pleasure to have known all this, it was a pleasure to have all these beautiful things, and it is wise to forget all what one has had once, and not to complain.⁵²

The end of the collection and the end of an interest in the possession of objects and in shaping them into an artwork is expressed alongside the intense reflections on the end of life itself. The collection was integral to the life and work and not merely a complement to more dominant activities. The collection was both the essence of the collector's personality, as 'Spiegel und Bildnis meiner Lebensneigung',⁵³ and was the whole world, the 'geschlossene Abkürzung des Universums'.⁵⁴ His notion of the collection as world and as integral to the author will be elucidated in the next section.

3 Contextualising the Collection

3.1 Collection as world

The synonymy of collection and world is everywhere in Zweig's essays on manuscripts as he conceives of his items as 'eine Art Bildersaal der Menschheit im geschriebenen Blatt',⁵⁵ and ultimately a 'geschlossene Abkürzung des Universums'.⁵⁶ The concept of universe or world encapsulates both a sense of the present lived reality and the whole of cultural history. In the second and most extensive passage on his collection in his memoirs, *Die Welt von Gestern*, Zweig moves from discussing the gatherings he hosted at his home on the Kapuzinerberg in Salzburg to the gathering of equally pre-eminent names in his collection:

Es kamen viele erwünschte berühmte Gäste in unser Haus in jenen Jahren, aber auch in den Stunden des Alleinseins sammelte sich um mich ein magischer Kreis erhabener Gestalten, deren Schatten und Spur zu beschwören mir allmählich gelungen war: in meiner schon erwähnten Sammlung von Autographen hatten

⁵² New York, Leo Baeck Institute, 'Stefan Zweig autographs collection, 1915-1942' (AR 834), Series II, Box 2, folder 1, <<http://findingaids.cjh.org/?pID=431108#serII>> [accessed 5 May 2019].

⁵³ Zweig, 'Handschriften als schöpferische Dokumente', p. 117.

⁵⁴ Zweig, 'Die Autographensammlung als Kunstwerk', p.1.

⁵⁵ Zweig, 'Vom Handschriftensammeln', *Die Dame*, 25 (1927), reprinted in M, pp. 120-21 (p. 121).

⁵⁶ Zweig, 'Die Autographensammlung als Kunstwerk', p.1.

sich die größten Meister aller Zeiten in ihrer Handschrift zusammengefunden.
(WVG, p.371-72)

The same convivial exchange is shared between the real and magical circle of friends. Egon Erwin Kisch picks up on this merging of the manuscript collection with his interaction with contemporary authors:

Stefan Zweig wollte nur Schriftsteller sein, das Wort Literatur war für ihn ein Ehrentitel und ein Auftrag. Mit allen großen Künstlern vergangener und gegenwärtiger Zeiten stand er in Kontakt, er sammelte die Handschriften von Toten, er half den Lebenden mit seinem Rat und seinem Geld.⁵⁷

This explanation posits an equivalence between Zweig's engagement with deceased, idealized authors and his contemporaries. His disposition towards both was subsumed into a universal way of being with artists and creative people in life and on the page.

Kisch's account incorporates a regret for Zweig's 'Humanismus der Duldung',⁵⁸ and it is common for essays on Zweig after his death in 1942 to include the manuscript collection as emblematic of a flawed political existence. For some critics, the collection was a means of idolizing greatness (or great men) at a time when the idea of greatness was being distorted by the destructive rise of Hitler. Meshing the motivations of the collection with Zweig's historical blindness, Hannah Arendt reads Zweig's growing despair as a result of a shame he intrinsically felt for being dismissed from the nostalgic paradise of a European world of yesterday:

dem Paradies des gebildeten Genusses, des Umgangs, weniger mit Gleichgesinnten als mit Gleichberühmten, des unendlichen Interesses an den toten Genien der Menschheit, in deren privates Leben einzudringen, deren persönlichste Hinterlassenschaften wie Reliquien zu sammeln die beglückendste Tätigkeit eines untätigen Lebens gewesen war.⁵⁹

Questioning Zweig's collecting activity against the backdrop of a war in which he was inactive, Arendt depicts the enterprise as voyeurism, as the hoarding of all manner of personal possessions, as if Zweig sought fame and honour in the vicarious experience of greatness through objects.

⁵⁷ Egon Erwin Kisch, 'Über den Tod Stefan Zweigs' in Weinzierl, *Stefan Zweig. Triumph und Tragik*, pp. 147-48 (p. 148).

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 148.

⁵⁹ Hannah Arendt, 'Juden in der Welt von Gestern', in Weinzierl, *Stefan Zweig: Triumph und Tragik*, pp. 158-61 (p. 159).

Critics more favourable to Zweig depict a similarly obsessive relationship with creative figures, noting the ebullient author's frequent evocation of genius when it came to his collection. Although Zweig maintained his focus on the creative process, it would be disingenuous to abstract his tendency towards author-worship from it, evident not only in his relationship to his manuscripts but in his panegyric biographies on his early role-models, Romain Rolland and Emile Verhaeren. Zweig encapsulates this dual focus in describing his search for an 'Einblick in die Schaffensweise eines geliebten Meisters' (WVG, p. 372). In this line, there are two separate ideas, brought out in two different emphases. Most critical consideration of the manuscript collection lays emphasis on the 'Einblick in die Schaffensweise *eines geliebten Meisters*', to the detriment of the 'Einblick in die Schaffensweise eines geliebten Meisters'. The second emphasis – on the process of creation – is developed further below but here it is worth pausing on Zweig's constitution of a world of 'geliebte Meister' and considering it in the wider context of collecting.

The first discussion of his manuscript collection in his memoirs is framed by one of Zweig's most moving encounters with greatness, with the goddaughter of Ottilie von Goethe, 'ein[] Mensch[] auf Erden, auf dem Goethes heiliger Blick geruht!' (WVG, p. 183). For certain artists, it did not suffice to engage with written fragments, rather a cultic space exceeded the page. Zweig cannot resist experiencing the artefact as symbolic and evocative in itself. When Zweig collected a set of Beethoven's household items in a sale in 1929, Romain Rolland expressed his disapproval: 'Für mich zählt Beethovens Notizbuch mehr als ein Möbelstück von ihm. Obwohl ich katholisch bin, habe ich nicht den Kult der materiellen Gegenstände oder körperlichen Überbleibsel. In einem Autograph suche ich vor allem die verborgenen Spuren des Geistes' (in M, p. 50). For Zweig, the overlap between manuscripts and artefacts was grounded in that same impulse to bring the artistic achievements of the past into the present and to encourage an aesthetically sensitive consciousness in hostile times. Zweig writes of the demand on the reader of manuscripts to be in awe and to love the figures that stand behind these works: 'Um Handschriften verstehen zu lieben, um sie zu bewundern, um von ihnen angeregt und erschüttert zu sein, müssen wir vorerst gelernt haben, den Menschen zu lieben, dessen Lebenszüge in ihnen verewigt sind'.⁶⁰ The desire to feel that 'geisterhafte Atmosphäre' in the presence of Ottilie von Goethe's goddaughter, 'im heiligen Schatten von Goethes Lebenswelt', is a pitch for the necessary preservation of this aesthetic history, an attempt to insert this lifeworld into the present.

⁶⁰ Zweig, 'Sinn und Schönheit', p. 136.

It is little surprise then that Friderike Zweig is moved to describe the preoccupation with the manuscript collection as an 'escape' from the world.⁶¹ Zweig shapes an alternative world, 'Die Welt der Autographen', in which exist the traces of the 'geliebte Meister' that Zweig incites us to remember. Building a world, carving a (cultic) space is a common theme in the wider thought around collecting. Walter Benjamin touches on the idea in 'Ich packe meine Bibliothek aus', in relation to his collection of books:

Solche Anordnung oder jede andere ist nur ein Damm gegen die Springflut von Erinnerungen, die gegen jeden Sammler anrollt, der sich mit dem Seinen befaßt. Jede Leidenschaft grenzt ja ans Chaos, die sammlerische aber an das der Erinnerungen. Doch ich will mehr sagen: Zufall, Schicksal, die das Vergangene vor meinem Blick durchfärben, sie sind zugleich in dem gewohnten Durcheinander dieser Bücher sinnfällig da. Denn was ist dieser Besitz anderes als eine Unordnung, in der Gewohnheit sich so heimisch machte, daß sie als Ordnung erscheinen kann? [...] So ist das Dasein des Sammlers dialektisch gespannt zwischen den Polen der Unordnung und der Ordnung.⁶²

Collecting becomes a way to find an order in a disordered chaos – none more chaotic than that of the first half of the twentieth century – but that ordering occurs in a second tangential world. We might still speak of 'escape' then. The collection offered an alternative, sublime narrative and Blom makes the link between collecting and story telling in this very sense, with regard to Benjamin's notion of ordering chaos:

We need to rehearse this in the face of the chaotic world, again and again, for reading and storytelling are consolations for the perplexed. Collecting is an aspect of this process. The collector, like the reader, seeks to convince himself that there is structure, that things can be ordered and understood, even if they seem to obey alien rules, or no rules at all. The library, a space where books are ordered and classified and not just jumbled in heaps of unconnected titles, becomes a story in its own right; within it, at least, things have their place in the scheme of things, on their shelf.⁶³

⁶¹ Friderike Zweig, p. 96.

⁶² Walter Benjamin, 'Ich packe meine Bibliothek aus', in *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. by Rolf Tiedemann und Hermann Schweppenhäuser, 7 vols (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1972-99), IV: *Kleine Prosa. Baudelaire-Übertragungen*, pp. 388-96 (p. 388).

⁶³ Blom, p. 206.

Zweig's insistence that the collection reflected his identity, as 'Spiegel und Bildnis meiner Lebensneigung', creates a link between a stable collection and a stable collector. The ordered ideal universe in microcosm rebounds onto its creator, or, as Justin Stagl has it: 'So schafft sich der *Homo Collector* das ihm ursprünglich entgegengetretene *Chaos* der Welt zu einem *Kosmos* um, in dem er sein Leben fristen kann. Man kann dies auch so ausdrücken, dass er sich in der Aneignung der Welt zugleich *selbst erschafft*'.⁶⁴ In full control of the shape of an alternative space and cultural life-world, the collection can stand in for a realm of order against a lived disorder.

Beyond the personal desire to 'escape' and 'collect oneself' (*sich sammeln*) in the consoling realm of the ordered collection, Zweig also sought on one level to preserve and shape a *European* cultural memory. The 'chaos' of war and the seeming demotion of cultural history in favour of a philistine politics forms the backdrop to the imperative to remember what has been lost, which Zweig began to express with increasing clarity during the First World War and which is reflected in his initiatives to publish series of international modern classics in the original language.⁶⁵ To give order to that chaos, a united European culture had to be found and shaped again and this was the task that had dominated Zweig's literary approach. He reflects on its failure in his memoirs:

Denn die innerste Aufgabe, an die ich alle Kraft meiner Überzeugung durch vierzig Jahre gesetzt, die friedliche Vereinigung Europas, sie war zuschanden geworden [...] Und der ein ganzes Leben leidenschaftlich sich bemüht um Verbundenheit im Menschlichen und im Geiste, empfand sich in dieser Stunde, die unverbrüchliche Gemeinschaft forderte wie keine andere, durch dieses jähe Ausgesondertsein unnütz und allein wie nie in seinem Leben. (WVG, p. 462)

Having worked towards the spiritual unification of Europe, and with that semblance of unity fractured, Zweig appears thrust back into the chaos of the world, no longer connected but alone and isolated. Likewise, in the collection that was a 'geschlossene Abbeviatur des Universums', Zweig attempted to shape an alternative world, where 'in brüderlichem Schrank die Schriftschatten geliebter Geistesgestalten'⁶⁶ were united. Like his collecting predecessor Goethe's collection, which sought to preserve the 'Spuren des Menschenlebens' for fear that

⁶⁴ Justin Stagl, 'Homo Collector: Zur Anthropologie und Soziologie des Sammelns', in *Sammler, Bibliophile, Exzentriker*, ed. by Aleida Assmann, Monika Gomille, and Gabriele Rippl (Tübingen: Narr, 1998), pp. 37-54 (p. 38).

⁶⁵ See Harald Gschwandtner, 'Herausgeberschaften', in HB, pp. 598-613 (especially pp. 604-05).

⁶⁶ Zweig, 'Handschriften als schöpferische Dokumente', p. 117.

they so quickly ‘von der Erde wegschwinden’,⁶⁷ Zweig’s collection was ‘an imaginative attempt to gather round him, to bring literally under his hands – and even to control – the vast spread of the history of that European culture which he sought to recreate in his own writings’.⁶⁸ Searle depicts a dynamic between a chaos of sorts, ‘the vast spread of history’, and an ordering operation, ‘to bring literally under his hands’. If collecting borders on the chaos of memory, that memory was to an extent a universal cultural memory at risk and demanding active preservation, as much as it was personal to Zweig.

This activity of remembering is a fundamental cultural practice, as Aleida Assmann has suggested:

Das Gedächtnis ist Ursprung und Fundament der Kultur. Die Kultur verdankt sich dem Gedächtnis als der Fähigkeit, durch Erinnern des Bedeutsamen und Vergessen des Kontingenten und Inkonsistenten jenseits des wechselnden Alltags eine Sinnwelt aufzubauen, die dem einzelnen und der Gemeinschaft durch Besinnung zugänglich ist.⁶⁹

Collecting is thus one of the means by which we get beyond the contingencies of everyday life and build meaning. Zweig’s collection intrinsically reaches beyond the confines of its own archive. It is an ordering, remembering, signifying exercise that is equivalent to and interwoven into lived reality. Just as Zweig’s writing can be shown to have memory at its core, as it traces the contours of European humanism in every essay and biography until the nostalgic remembrance of *Die Welt von Gestern*, the collection of autograph manuscripts is an expression and consequence of that same impulse. ‘Sammlungen sind materialisierte Gedächtnisse, das Gedächtnis ist eine entmaterialisierte Sammlung’.⁷⁰

3.2 Chaos, Order, Myth

It is precisely this striving towards order and reshaping of meaning that is questioned by critics such as Claudio Magris and Jacques Le Rider. In *Der habsburgische Mythos in der österreichischen Literatur*, Magris charges the likes of Zweig with the falsification of a

⁶⁷ Goethe to Christian Heinrich Schloesser (30 May 1824), in Hans-Joachim Schreckenbach, *Goethes Autographensammlung. Katalog* (Weimar: Arion Verlag, 1961), p. 28.

⁶⁸ Searle, p. xv.

⁶⁹ Aleida Assmann, ‘Nachwort’ in *Schrift und Gedächtnis: Beiträge zur Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation*, ed. by. Aleida Assmann, Jan Assmann, and Christof Hardmeier (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1983), p. 267.

⁷⁰ Stagl, p. 41.

harmonious history to overcome the complications of real historical conditions. Myth functions as 'die Geschichte einer Kultur, die im Banne ihrer Liebe zur universalen Ordnung die Unordnung der Welt entdeckt hat'. He continues,

Die Art und Weise, wie eine Kultur sich bemühte, die Vielfalt der Wirklichkeit auf eine Einheit zu bringen, zu reduzieren, der Chaos der Welt auf eine Ordnung, die fragmentarische Zufälligkeit der Existenz auf eine Wesensnotwendigkeit, die historisch-politischen Widersprüche auf eine Harmonie, die imstande war, diese Widersprüche zu lösen, wenn nicht zu erlösen.⁷¹

Le Rider frames such a sublimation of reality as a strategy of those 'Jews who remained nostalgically faithful to liberalism' and Zweig was one who sought 'refuge [...] in Bildung and its privileged auxiliary, art.'⁷² He offers a similar conclusion to Magris, with the emphasis on a Jewish identity crisis caused by the failure of real assimilation in Viennese society. This type of 'assimilated Jew' was thus 'constantly tempted to abdicate the uncomfortable privilege of being "a man without qualities" and identify itself, perhaps over-hastily, with any certainty which may be offered'.⁷³

Reacting against a series of individual and social crises, Zweig, as the typical flawed character of these theories, reacts by mythologizing the past (Magris), retreating into the 'aesthetic garden' (Schorske) or settling for comfortable certainties (Le Rider). To collect 'in brüderliche[r] Schrank die Schriftschatten geliebter Geistesgestalten' was certainly a comforting activity for Zweig, one that reinforced his value system, and one that was spurred on by the real fragmentation of that very European spiritual community that he was forced to recreate in his ideal cosmos. Nevertheless, Zweig reiterates that any order and secondary ideal world represented by such a collection was inherently incomplete. He articulates this central idea to fellow bibliophiles as the paradox 'das Unmögliche möglich zu machen':

Immer werden erlauchte Namen, repräsentative Stücke noch fehlen müssen, aber gerade dieser Vollendung eines Planes sich nähern und sie nie vollkommen erreichen, ist ja der eigentlichste Reiz, der jedem Sammler die Spannung erhält und mit Freude an dem Gelingen die Hoffnung auf noch zu Erringendes vereint.

⁷¹ Claudio Magris, *Der habsburgische Mythos in der österreichischen Literatur* (Salzburg: Müller, 1988), p. viii.

⁷² Jacques Le Rider, *Modernity and Crises of Identity: Culture and Society in Fin-de-siècle Vienna*, trans. by Rosemary Morris (New York: Continuum, 1993), p. 191.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

Ich möchte sie nicht missen und liebe ich die Stücke, die ich noch begehre, in einem gewissen Sinne fast ebenso wie diejenigen, die ich schon besitze.⁷⁴

A collector must always have the incentive to collect. Or, the myth sustained in an alternative order must be continuously productive and proliferative for it to be convincing and for disorder to be effectively resisted. For Zweig, the joy lies both in the objects and in the reaching for them. That is, in the creative act of (meaning) construction as much as in the final creation itself. Collectors 'find that those objects are nothing but symbols of what they craved for, that it was the longing itself, and the ecstatic moment of acquisition, that fooled them'.⁷⁵ Zweig is aware of the paradox and aware of the incomplete destiny of the 'impossible' collection.

This section aims to highlight precisely this awareness and Zweig's focus on process, that is, akin to both creating and remembering. Without that, Zweig becomes simply another hoarder touched by the magic of the encounter with genius, which undeniably does form part of his passion, yet, in order to get at the novelty of Zweig's practice, the transactional and the possessive aspects must be seen in tension everywhere with an insistence on the process of creating a collection and the precarity of his experience of the manuscripts in that collection. As he puts it in his memoirs, 'immer war nur das Schaffen meine Freude, nie das Geschaffene' (WVG, p. 378).

4 Experiencing the Collection

4.1 Defining Zweig's *Handschriftenkunde*

What unites Stefan Zweig's various writings is the pursuit of the secret of artistic creation: 'Von den unzähligen unlösbaren Rätseln der Welt bleibt das tiefste und geheimnisvollste doch das Geheimnis der Schöpfung' (WVG, p. 372). And the autograph manuscript is the privileged site, where that secret could be approached: 'Wir haben vielleicht kein anderes Zeichen, kein anderes Medium, um dem schöpferischen Augenblick eines Kunstwerks nahe zu kommen, als die Urschrift'.⁷⁶ Detractors group such utterances as further examples of artist-worship beyond his encomiastic essays and biographies, but that all too easily equates Zweig's notion of creation with creator. This chapter focuses instead on the creative process as an event that is reanimated

⁷⁴ Zweig, 'Meine Autographensammlung', p. 129.

⁷⁵ Blom, p. 218.

⁷⁶ Zweig, 'Vom Handschriftensammeln', p. 120.

in Zweig's encounter with manuscripts. A biographical theory of literary creativity is deficient when considering Zweig's careful language that focuses much more on the textual object and the dynamic process on the page, than it does on the author. The secret that orients Zweig does not simply refer to a daemonic source of inspiration but is situated between substance and spirit, between work (*Arbeit*) and inspiration, and between materiality and magic. The secret's ultimate inexplicability and the frequent idiomatic ambiguities and contradictions that it creates in Zweig's essays ought to be rendered in their tension and not obscured to fit the conventional picture of a mediator of cultural personalities.

Zweig's explanation of the difference between his practice and graphology – the deduction of an author's character from their written traces – offers an initial entry into the nuances of his approach:

Schon die Schrift allein verrät viel – auch hier ist ja eine neue Wissenschaft, die Graphologie, auf der Spur, den Charakter und die Seelenneigung eines Menschen aus der Art, wie er die Feder führt, zu dechiffrieren. Aber dies andere, noch Geheimnisvollere der Inspiration, des ersten Einfalls, des Stockens und Strömens im schenkenden Zuge, der Weigerung oder Hingabe des Stoffes an die Gestaltung, erscheint aus dem ungeheuren Dunkel der Unbewusstheit nur in einer einzigen Lichtspur erhellt, nämlich durch das Dasein und Vorhandensein der Urschrift.⁷⁷

This passage retains the thread of personality in creation with the evocation of the unconscious, but it also does much to unwork the idea that a manuscript simply amounts to direct insight into its author. Firstly, Zweig associates his reading with 'the secretive' in contrast to graphology's claims to 'decode' traces, therefore already denying his activity a product or goal beyond the process of reading itself. Secondly, Zweig is interested far more in the process and the brute material effects of writing. Inspiration forms just one part of the secret, as it is followed by the 'idea' (*Einfall*), the 'faltering' (*Stocken*) and the 'flow' (*Strömen*) – emphasising not only the *process* of creation as opposed to sudden inspiration but also the fallibility of the creator. The secret then extends to the resistance of 'Stoff', material or substance, which appears through the 'Dasein' and 'Vorhandensein' of the manuscript. The semi-duplication of the idea of existence is significant for the emphasis on the notion of present-ness in the latter noun, joining the preceding image of the materiality of writing to show how for Zweig the reader first

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 120.

experiences the manuscript as substance, texture, word or gesture in a present encounter, rather than as code, symbol or idea in a timeless encounter.

In other words, Zweig's approach is sensitive to the ontological aspects of literature, all the while maintaining in part that familiar lauding of the inspired Promethean author. Ontological aspects are understood as the stuff of literature, what is perceived before it is *thought*, or what there *is* and not what *means*. Mühlegger-Henhapl calls this Zweig's fascination for 'die genussvolle Betrachtung des rein äußerlichen optischen Reizes des Schriftbildes'.⁷⁸ The passage above highlights a very particular definition of 'the secret of creation', where creation is material and processual and where the secret will always be secret.

Just as Zweig is at pains to show how his practice differs from graphological investigations, he also marks his collecting apart from Goethe's, despite frequently showing the master's insights into manuscripts. For Zweig, Goethe's own collection only produced 'verhältnismäßig sehr schlechte Resultate'.⁷⁹ He questions its unlimited scope but also its lack of consistent quality, a result that derives from the collector's indiscriminate criteria and boundless fascination with the origin of his items rather than the item itself. Böhmer points towards Goethe's inability to move beyond the significance of the author. The collector's lists included only authors' names without any concern for the kind of item, the content, or the material details. Goethe marked his items in the top corner with the name of the autograph's creator, and thus intervened in the integrity of the original. These marks draw attention to the unifying collector, so that in the future these items could be identified as part of Goethe's collection. For Goethe,

Der Inhalt der Schriftstücke ist von sekundärer, im konsequent durchgeführten sammlungstechnischen Sinn von überhaupt keiner Bedeutung. [...] Dieser Ausschluss jeder inhaltlichen Dimension der Schrift korrespondiert mit der bereits dargestellten Konzeption, dass der Sammlung gerade nicht ein archivarisches Interesse, also das Besitzen und Bewahren von Wissen, zu Grunde liegt. Goethe liest die Texte nicht.⁸⁰

The item becomes a surrogate for its creator so that the more significant the name, the more magical the item.

⁷⁸ Mühlegger-Henhapl, p. 225.

⁷⁹ Zweig, 'Die Autographensammlung als Kunstwerk', p. 3.

⁸⁰ Sebastian Böhmer, 'Die Magie der Handschrift: Warum Goethe Autographe sammelte', in *Zeitschrift für Ideengeschichte*, 5 (2011), 97-110 (p. 105).

Zweig, on the other hand, is not hesitant to interact with his collection items. For all that the two collectors may share in evoking the tangible presence of a creator in the magical atmosphere of the manuscript, Goethe's response is solely towards a diffuse apparition and is encapsulated more in the verb 'anschauen',⁸¹ whereas Zweig responds with verbs such as 'betasten', 'spüren', and with interactive verbs such as 'begleiten' and 'miterleben'.⁸² As Ulrike Vedder has it, 'so ist er [Zweig] auch kein Archivar, sondern ein Sammler, Leser und Autor. Denn um die Autographen dem Staub, den Mäusen und der Unaufmerksamkeit zu entreißen, müssen sie "gelesen" werden [...]'.⁸³

Zweig defines his collection as unlike Goethe's and defines his interests from the very first reflections as *not* graphological and *not* philological:

Der wahre Autographensammler will von einer anderen Seite wie der Philologe, aber mit der gleichen Leidenschaft in das Wesen des schaffenden Menschen eindringen und zwar in eben jenen geheimnisvollsten Augenblick aller Augenblicke, den der Schöpfung. Und so wie der Philologe sich durch Nachweise analytisch das Entstehen einer künstlerischen Idee und die Form ihrer Durchbildung fasslich zu machen sucht, so spürt der Handschriften-Liebhaber intuitiv aus dem Manuskript Widerstand des Schaffenden, sieht hier den feurigen Fluss des Produktiven und auf der nächsten Seite ihn erlahmen und an Klippen zahlloser Korrekturen zerschellen. In dieser geheimnisvollen Atmosphäre zu leben, verlockt es den Sammler der Handschrift, sie zu besitzen, reizt ihn der allgemeine Sammeltrieb, der Eigenes zehnfach mehr besitzt und genießt als Geborgtes und Gebliebenes. Verbrüdet mit der Philologie, ist die Handschriftenkunde der Graphologie verschwistert, die von einem andern Ursprung her das Geheimnis des Charakters sich zu entschleiern bemüht, wie jene den Mythos der Schöpfung.⁸⁴

He carves out a discipline of 'Handschriftenkunde', borrowing from these others without finding complete satisfaction in their existing approaches. He takes from philology an understanding of the emergence and development of an artistic idea in textual documents but contrasts its evidenced, analytical approach to the 'intuitive' one of the manuscript connoisseur. That more experiential and diffuse idea of intuition pushes Zweig to check his practice against graphology.

⁸¹ See Böhmer; also Lothar Frede, *Goethe der Sammler. Ein Essay* (Cologne; Berlin: Grote, 1969).

⁸² Zweig, 'Das Geheimnis', p. 352.

⁸³ Vedder, p. 149.

⁸⁴ Zweig, 'Die Autographensammlung als Kunstwerk', p. 2

‘Handschriftenkunde’ shares graphology’s ambitious desire for an unknown, yet its object is not the character of the author, but the creative process itself. The true collector is therefore not analytical in the extreme, like the philologist, nor as characterological as the graphologist, but he creatively and *intuitively* experiences – like the graphologist – the emergence of an artwork, the same object of study as the philologist. Shifting between these two contrasting approaches, Zweig constantly defends his thoughts on manuscripts from charges of graphology, which at the beginning of the twentieth century was both a discipline in bloom through the works of Ludwig Klages (and Lavater before him) and a discipline unsurprisingly under attack.⁸⁵ Zweig suggests:

Ob aber deshalb eine ganze psychologische Methodik aus den Schriftzeichen abzuleiten wäre, ein ganzes Lebenshoroskop mit Vergangenheit, Schicksals- und Zukunftsgestaltung, untrüglich von flüchtigen Zeilen abzulesen, dies scheint mir zumindestens nicht jedermanns Magie [...]⁸⁶

If some critics reduce Zweig’s concerns to his more extreme moments of adulation and intuitive proximity to departed geniuses, it treats that adulation as akin to graphology’s reductive tendencies, when Zweig merely shares its approach and not its object, nor its pretensions.

Zweig, instead, takes the magic of the creative presence as given and uses it as a point of departure for a different inquiry altogether.

Diese Atmosphäre der Handschrift ist eine, die nur Ehrfurcht zu erfüllen, Pietät schauernd zu empfinden vermag. Was es dem einen an Unendlichem bedeutet, eine Symphonie Beethovens in den Händen zu halten, dieses unsichtbare Tönen, dieses Ausstrahlen seines Wesens in eine Form, die zwar nicht die wesenhafteste seines Werkes ist, aber doch eine ihrer stärksten Materialisationen, dies mag andern freilich nur ein Schock beschriebenen Papiere sein. Aber ich sagte ja, dass fast immer ein Künstler vonnöten ist, um den Reiz des Sammelns zu verstehen, dieses Zurücktreten eines Seins in sein Werden, eines Geschaffenen in sein Entstehen.⁸⁷ (AaK: pp. 2-3)

The task is not to delve deeper into the author figure but to accept the author’s genius and to assume an extra-ordinary atmosphere around the item. That expectation is fostered by the idea of awe, that ‘Ehrfurcht’ that is demanded in all of Zweig’s essays on manuscripts, creating the

⁸⁵ See for example Walter Benjamin, ‘Anja und Georg Mendelssohn, Der Mensch in der Handschrift’ (Review) in Benjamin, *Gesammelte Schriften*, III: *Kritiken und Rezensionen*, pp. 135-39.

⁸⁶ Zweig, ‘Die Welt der Autographen’, in M, pp. 103-107 (p. 106).

⁸⁷ Zweig, ‘Die Autographensammlung als Kunstwerk’, pp. 2-3.

conditions for an engaged encounter with creativity, and without which the manuscript is ‘freilich nur ein Schock beschriebenen Papiere’. Rather than allow the experience with the manuscript to circle back and further inform an image of the author, Zweig has therefore already taken the author to the limit, as a pre-condition of the encounter. From that point an *artistic* interpretive approach is required to begin to think beyond the author to the process of the *work’s* emergence. This latter is Zweig’s principal interest and it is what draws his approach closer to the modern critical approach of genetic criticism, a discipline that understands ‘writing as process, the work as genesis’.⁸⁸ Zweig’s reflections encapsulate a brief history of literature’s engagement with manuscripts, as he navigates from the Romantic awe before the work of inspiration – the kind of author worship Goethe displayed in his collection – to a proto-genetic critical interest in creative process.

4.2 Between Traditional and Modern Textual Criticism

Rarely do surveys of the modern engagement with manuscripts include Zweig as a notable figure but the signposts in these histories map closely onto Zweig’s own thought. His approach incorporates the spectrum of thought since the emergence of the manuscript as an object of interest.

Benne explains the development of the literary manuscript as a distinct object of study has no single origin but emerges from a multitude of factors that arose in the mid to late eighteenth century. In a period when printed material began to be far more accessible and ubiquitous, the status of the manuscript necessarily changes so that ‘die rein mediale Unterscheidung von Handschrift und Buch erneut schwierig wurde’.⁸⁹ Mecklenburg’s history of autograph collecting has a similar periodisation and points to Johann Kaspar Lavater’s *Physiognomische Fragmente* (1775) as a landmark reflection on handwriting as the material manifestation of an individual’s character.⁹⁰ Mecklenburg frames his historical overview definitively, and unavoidably given the period in focus, in ideas of genius. For him, manuscript collecting derived quite simply from ‘der Wunsch, die Schriftzüge eines verehrungswürdigen Menschen als körperliche Erinnerung an ihn zu bewahren’ (p. 11).⁹¹ Likewise, the genetic critic

⁸⁸ Pierre-Marc de Biasi, *Génétique des textes* (Paris: CNRS, 2010), p. 7 (my translation).

⁸⁹ Christian Benne, *Die Erfindung des Manuskripts: Zur Theorie und Geschichte literarischer Gegenständlichkeit* (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2015), p. 32.

⁹⁰ Günther Mecklenburg, *Vom Autographensammeln. Versuch einer Darstellung seines Wesens und seiner Geschichte im deutschen Sprachgebiet* (Marburg: Stargardt, 1963), p. 11.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

Pierre-Marc de Biasi looks towards Kant and the understanding of genius and originality in *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*,⁹² and Falconer's survey of the development of genetic criticism highlights a number of factors in a Romantic age 'in which art [...] gradually supplanted religion as the principal medium for the expression of the spiritual or metaphysical dimensions of human experience'.⁹³ Or in the words of Paul Bénichou's comprehensive period analysis: 'For romanticism, the Poet is a seeker, an interpreter, a guide, and is at the centre of the world of the spirit'.⁹⁴

Zweig's collection was driven by a similarly Romantic fascination with the author as genius but, as we have explained above, his interest goes beyond plain genius worship and the surveys mentioned above likewise complicate the 'invention' of the manuscript. As Benne has it, '[p]lausibler ist es deshalb, die Genieästhetik als nur einen und zudem noch nicht einmal besonders wichtigen Emergenzfaktor anzunehmen'.⁹⁵ De Biasi notes the nineteenth century's theories of subjectivity, citing Hegel's notion of human agency in history, the recognition of intellectual property and author rights inaugurated by Diderot, the industrial revolution and the increased value of work as a representation of labour, and a greater public and professional interest therefore in the production of things.⁹⁶ This is the social, legal, and philosophical backdrop to the nineteenth-century author's growing reflection on the interplay between manuscript and work.

Benne describes a six-stage development of the 'Erfindung des Manuskripts', in which the final three stages relate to the beginnings of philology, genetic criticism and critical editions, and ultimately the integration of text-critical research into wider literary and philosophical inquiries. The third stage is the most significant for Benne. It follows the initial emergence of the manuscript in a renewed differentiation from the printed book, and subsequently the penetration of the new idea of manuscript in the early Romantic period as the 'literary manuscript'. This is the difference between mere reflection on the literary manuscript and the manuscript's now direct influence on literary conception.

Diese zentrale Stufe [...] bildet das Scharnier zwischen Emergenz und schreibreflexiv geprägter Moderne, die breitere Kreise erfasste. Seit dieser dritten Stufe muss sich jeder Autor entscheiden, wie er es mit seinen Manuskripten hält.

⁹² De Biasi, p. 16.

⁹³ Graham Falconer, 'Genetic Criticism', in *Comparative Literature*, 45 (1993), 1-21 (pp. 8-9).

⁹⁴ Paul Bénichou, *The Consecration of the Writer, 1750-1830*, trans. by Mark K. Jensen (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), p. 188.

⁹⁵ Benne, p. 33.

⁹⁶ De Biasi, p. 16.

Selbst die Negation material-, exzerpte- oder entwürfereicher prozessualer Kompositionsweisen muss ein bewusstes sein, will sie literarisch ernst genommen werden. Auch in der Negation bleibt die Wirkung der Handschrift erhalten. Ein Werk ohne Nachlass lässt sich dann nur noch durch überzeugende Gründe für dessen Fehlen rechtfertigen (z.B. Zensur, bewusste Verdunkelung, Wahnsinn, Katastrophen).⁹⁷

The relevance of manuscripts and their increasing preservation – perhaps most famously demonstrated by the likes of Goethe and Balzac – complicates the relationship between work that was once preparatory and that which was final, since the whole process becomes part of the literary work and every decision becomes significant. Thus, the initial interest in the origins of an exceptional artwork by the hands of a genius is complicated by the demystification of origins through their revelation.

Edgar Allan Poe's call for authors to explain their creative processes in 'The Philosophy of Composition' (1846) epitomizes this shift, as the author should 'detail, step by step, the processes by which any one of his compositions attained its ultimate point of completion'. He judges the lack of such a discussion an omission down to authorial vanity:

Most writers – poets in especial – prefer having it understood that they compose by a species of fine frenzy – an ecstatic intuition – and would positively shudder at letting the public take a peep behind the scenes, at the elaborate and vacillating crudities of thought – at the true purposes seized only at the last moment – at the innumerable glimpses of idea that arrived not at the maturity of full view – at the fully matured fancies discarded in despair as unmanageable – at the cautious selections and rejections – at the painful erasures and interpolations – in a word, at the wheels and pinions – the tackle for scene-shifting – the step-ladders and demon-traps – the cock's feathers, the red paint and the black patches, which, in ninety-nine cases out of the hundred, constitute the properties of the literary *histrion*.⁹⁸

Poe does not deny the difficulty of the task but points to the future disciplines, whose task it becomes to unveil and interpret the 'vacillating crudities of thought', or more tangibly 'the

⁹⁷ Benne, p. 37.

⁹⁸ Edgar Allan Poe, 'The Philosophy of Composition', in Poe, *Essays and Reviews*, ed. by Gary Richard Thompson (New York: Library of America, 1984), pp. 13-25 (p. 14).

cock's feathers, the red paint and black patches', those disciplines that Benne shows as the subsequent stages in the approach to the manuscript.

Almost a century after Poe's essay, Zweig responds to Poe's injunction explicitly in his longest presentation on the subject, 'Das Geheimnis des künstlerischen Schaffens', by suggesting that it would be quite impossible for the creator to retrace his steps, siding in this section of the essay with those authors who 'compose species of fine frenzy'. Zweig prefers to understand the creative process as undertaken by a writer in a state of *Nicht-Dabeisein* since he is fully within his visions, his words and not outside them.⁹⁹ By insisting on the inexplicable nature of creation and the unknowing genius of the creator, Zweig attaches his thought at one extreme to the *Geniezeit*, a feature of the early stages of the manuscript's significance, according to Benne. Yet, at the other extreme, Zweig's thought pushes towards those very disciplines that Benne associates with a 'Wahrnehmung einer der Handschriften eigenen Epistemologie und Ästhetik auch in bildkünstlerischer Hinsicht sowie der Entstehung der nun primär an der Handschrift ausgerichteten Editionsphilologie und Editionstheorie textgenetischer und "materialer" Ausrichtung'.¹⁰⁰

Zweig, in many ways, is a hinge between a Romantic and a modern interaction with manuscripts, precisely because he displays the historical span of thoughts around the emergence of the manuscript in literary culture. That hybrid position has not been fully commented on and is neglected in the surveys mentioned, side-lined by a preference to only consider the niche pursuit of collection. It is emphasized, nonetheless, by Bodo Plachta in the anthology, *Materialität in der Editionswissenschaft*, a rare academic platform for Zweig's work:

So sehr der Sammler Zweig sich noch immer vom Autograph als einem "magischem Medium" gefangen nehmen ließ, die Autorhandschrift war für ihn nicht mehr nur das *Schriftdenkmal* eines prominenten Urhebers, sondern nun auch *Textträger*, auf dem sich die Genese eines Textes materialisiert [...]¹⁰¹

Drawing on Zweig's emphasis on process and materiality, or in Poe's words on 'the red paint and black patches' behind a work, Plachta depicts Zweig's writing on manuscripts as significant for subsequent *textual* criticism, however tinged with mystery his interpretations might be. The need to preserve culture and memorialize exceptional human artistic accomplishments is but

⁹⁹ Zweig, 'Das Geheimnis', p. 354.

¹⁰⁰ Benne, p. 37.

¹⁰¹ Bodo Plachta, 'Schriftdenkmal oder Textträger? Über das Sammeln von Autographen', in *Materialität in der Editionswissenschaft*, ed. Martin Schubert (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), pp. 79-88 (p. 85).

one element of an approach to manuscripts that involves *both* auratic *and* textual interaction. The novelty and productivity of the latter might consequently change our reaction to the former.

Plachta's relation of Zweig to *Editionswissenschaft* is primarily due to the collector's emphasis on the 'genetic' process, which is aligned to the practice of genetic criticism, a critical discipline whose principal object is the compositional process of a work. Deppmann et al. offer the following definition of genetic criticism:

Like old-fashioned philology or textual criticism, it examines tangible documents such as writers' notes, drafts, and proof corrections, but its real object is something much more abstract – not the existing documents but the movement of writing that must be inferred from them. Then, too, it remains concrete, for it never posits an ideal text beyond those documents but rather strives to reconstruct, from all available evidence, the chain of events in a writing process.¹⁰²

Similarly, Zweig explains that his collection is comprised of 'Schriftstücke also, die unmittelbar den schöpferischen Augenblick eines Werkes versinnlichen und einerseits visuell, andererseits charakterologisch Einblick in die *Genesis der Gestaltung* geben'.¹⁰³ Elsewhere, he notes that he seeks documents that show 'den genetischen Prozeß sehr charakteristisch'.¹⁰⁴ Where Deppman et al. stress their research into 'the movement of writing', Zweig too accents the importance for him of the text's 'becoming'. Zweig even denies his collection is one of 'autograph' manuscripts, preferring to emphasize the material process of their contents in the term 'Werkschriftensammlung':

Wenn meine Freunde meine Sammlung eine Autographen-Sammlung nennen, so ist ihr eigentlichstes Wesen damit nicht völlig zutreffend ausgedrückt: ich würde sie eher und lieber eine Werkschriften-Sammlung nennen. Denn ich sammle niemals bloß die Schrift, nicht Zufallsbriefe und Albumblätter von Künstlern, sondern nur Schriften, die den schöpferischen Geist im schöpferischen Zustande zeigen [...] Wo ich das Dasein und Vorhandensein eines literarischen oder musikalischen Werkes liebe, interessiert mich seine Entstehung [...] So möchte meine Sammlung allmählich sich über die bloße Sammlerei zu einem

¹⁰² Jed Deppman, Daniel Ferrer, and Michael Groden, *Genetic Criticism: Texts and Avant-Textes* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), p.2.

¹⁰³ Zweig, 'Handschriften als schöpferische Dokumente', p. 117.

¹⁰⁴ Zweig, 'Meine Autographensammlung', p. 128.

enzyklopädischen Charakterbild nicht nur der schöpferischen Schrift, sondern auch der Produktionsweise steigern.

By seeking the experience of a creative process, Zweig develops a genetic critical approach that inserts a temporal dimension into the text. Genetic critics explain this as a reinsertion of the diachronic within the structuralist method, in which the *devenir-texte* is the fundamental state of the work-in-progress, and the new focus is on an object structured by time, the manuscript.¹⁰⁵ Where structuralism was at risk of sacralising *Text* in its text-immanent approach, genetic criticism prioritizes the text's own history as multiple texts with multiple influences, so that contingency becomes part of the logic of the work of literature. In other words, genetic criticism 'destabilizes the notion of text and shakes the exclusive hold of the textual model. One could even say that genetic criticism is not concerned with texts at all but only with the writing processes that engender them'.¹⁰⁶

Zweig's approach is at one remove from genetic criticism, as the object itself plays such a significant role in his activity. Only with a small selection of Zweig's collection items – Balzac's *Une Ténébreuse affaire* the most obvious – can a genetic analysis of the modern kind even be undertaken, since the collection mostly comprises fragments, single sheets, glimpses of composition rather than a long view of process over time. Zweig's understanding of process is caught between the momentary, the inspiration of fragments and the duration and contingency of a sustained writing process. His most used Goethe reference in relation to manuscripts is notable for its verbs: 'Die Natur- und Kunstwerke lernt man nicht kennen, wenn sie fertig sind. Man muss sie im Entstehen aufhaschen, um sie einigermaßen zu begreifen'.¹⁰⁷ The idea of 'catching' (*aufhaschen*) the author in the act refers to a momentary and chance experience that has little to do with prolonged analysis and everything to do with a sudden perception. The process of perception here does not necessarily match the process of creation in the way the genetic critic arduously relives the composition of a work. Fragments become visual artworks, or canvases, that engender an optical reaction and not an analytical one, so that Zweig can refer to his collection as 'eine Art *Bildersaal* der Menschheit im geschriebenen Blatt'.¹⁰⁸

Zweig's attachment to the physical material of his collection is more immediate and visceral than genetic criticism's ultimately immaterial object, distilled from *between*

¹⁰⁵ De Biasi, p. 57.

¹⁰⁶ Deppman et al., p. 11.

¹⁰⁷ Goethe to Zelter (4 August 1803), in Zweig, 'Die unterirdischen Bücher Balzacs', p. 96, and in Zweig's collection description in the Hinterberger auction catalogue (Vienna), London, British Library, Add MS 73183 A-D (1936-37).

¹⁰⁸ Zweig, 'Vom Handschriftensammeln', p. 121, my emphasis.

manuscripts and not exactly *within* them. In fact, it anticipates Benne's reservations towards genetic criticism, in which he sees the potential for a return to a kind of mind-body dualism – where the 'trace' might simply lead to a more abstract and favoured *meaning* and not be considered part of the interpretive experience as such – or even the potential for a return to linearity, the very idea which genetic criticism aims to subvert in its return to drafts. Benne deems genetic criticism's 'Vorstellung der Genese ohne ein Minimum an Teleologie gar nicht denkbar'.¹⁰⁹ Zweig's process concept carries a consistent connection to the stuff of the text and the materiality of the object. His approach thus brings into consideration that ontological aspect of texts highlighted in variations of the critical 'material turn', what Benne terms 'literarischer Gegenständlichkeit'.

From the first page of his first essay on manuscripts, Zweig sets out his view that a manuscript collection is involved in a process of enlivening material, that is, a process of making the physical traces of writing *present* – in both a spatial and temporal sense.

Eine Sammlung ebenso wie ein Kunstwerk will in sich eine geschlossene Abbreviatur des Universums darstellen, und wenn Sammeln mehr bedeutet als Anhäufen und Zusammenraffen, wenn es auch Ordnen und Formen zum Urtriebe hat, so mag es gelingen, hier durch eine geheimnisvolle Architektonik aus totem Stoff ein Lebendiges zu gestalten.¹¹⁰

Zweig constantly indicates the tangibility of his object, of the texts and the reading encounter, so that his essays enact the immediate sensory experience. As Poe sought the 'the cock's feathers, the red paint and the black patches' behind a work, Zweig too evokes the blood, sweat, ink, and dust in the writer's gestures and traces, so that writing often becomes scratching, carving, or flowing. One example, from Zweig's review of a facsimile edition of Heine's *Deutschland, ein Wintermärchen*, employs an extended elemental metaphor around the chaos of Heine's drafts: 'die Proben aus dem Urmanuskript zeigen aber das ganze Chaos der Entstehung, man spürt wie die Gedanken oft am Funken eines Reims aufflammen und dann rasch in fliegendem Brand sich weiterzünden [...]'.¹¹¹ Balzac's drafts are similarly framed in chaos, so that the reader should not consider the pages as 'literarische Phänomen [...] sondern als elementares, wie den Ausbruch eines Vulkans, den unablässigen, stets aus sich selbst gespeisten Niedersturz eines gigantischen Wasserfalls [...]'.¹¹² Zweig's experience is not literary

¹⁰⁹ Benne, p. 612.

¹¹⁰ Zweig, 'Die Autographensammlung als Kunstwerk', p. 1.

¹¹¹ Zweig, 'Eine Faksimileausgabe von Heine', p. 93.

¹¹² Zweig, 'Die unterirdischen Bücher Balzacs', p. 96.

but an altogether more visceral encounter that his excited parataxis aim to replicate. The first quotation does not mention the act of *reading* a draft, rather the optimal verb here is to feel (*spüren*) – drafts are worlds in which Zweig enters, interacting with traces in an intuitive and sensory way that precedes the act of reading. This always tactile experience grounds the composition in a very real material environment. In a later essay, Zweig describes ‘das manchmal gruselig großartige Gefühl, unsterbliche, unvergängliche Dichtung in ihrer erstmaligen, einmaligen, irdischen Form zu *betasten*’,¹¹³ again replacing the expected verb with one that emphasizes basic sensory perception above any deeper cognition.

Zweig’s haptic terminology recalls criticism of the so-called ‘material turn’. Benne employs the term ‘literarischer Gegenständlichkeit’, ‘literary *objectivity*’, while related approaches reveal preferences for different terms, which ultimately share an essential motivation. Some philosophical approaches speak of the ‘ontology’ of texts;¹¹⁴ a different strain of philosophy evokes the ‘bodily’ in literature;¹¹⁵ some literary critics prefer the idea of ‘materiality’;¹¹⁶ others look to the ‘visibility’ of writing;¹¹⁷ while David Wellbery’s post-structuralist claim is for the ‘exteriority’ of writing.¹¹⁸ And to this list we can add those who have sought to emphasize the theory of the ‘trace’.¹¹⁹ In the case of Benne’s analysis, it is clear how his thought takes from all these shades of ‘materiality’, which all agree on the renewed emphasis on the substance of a text, whether that substance is defined as the ‘sign’ (Wellbery) or as the physical work, a manuscript or fragment.

For Benne, there has been no real relation between literary history and textual genesis, since manuscripts have predominantly been ‘used’ rather than ‘ontologized’. Correcting this historical neglect, he focuses on the manuscript’s *gnoseological* status, the cognition *of/about*

¹¹³ Zweig, ‘Handschriften als schöpferische Dokumente’, p.117.

¹¹⁴ See Benne and also Jorge J. E. Garcia, *Texts: Ontological Status, Identity, Author, Audience* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1996); and Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, ‘Ein Hauch von Ontik. Genealogische Spuren der New Philology’, *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, 116 (1997), 31-45.

¹¹⁵ Michel Serres, *The Five Senses: A Philosophy of Mingled Bodies* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016); Jacques Rancière, *The Flesh of Words: The Politics of Writing*, trans. by Charlotte Mandell (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004); and Georges Didi-Hubermann, *La Ressemblance par contact: Archéologie, anachronisme et modernité de l’empreinte* (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 2008).

¹¹⁶ *Poetiken der Materie: Stoffe und ihre Qualitäten in Literatur, Kunst und Philosophie*, ed. by Thomas Strässle and Caroline Torra-Mattenklott (Freiburg: Rombach Verlag, 2005); and Dieter Mersch, *Was sich zeigt: Materialität, Präsenz, Ereignis* (München: Fink, 2002).

¹¹⁷ Susanne Strätling and Georg Witte, *Die Sichtbarkeit der Schrift* (München: Fink, 2006).

¹¹⁸ David Wellbery, ‘The Exteriority of Writing’, *Stanford Literature Review*, 9.1 (Spring 1992), pp. 11-24.

¹¹⁹ Ernst Bloch, *Spuren* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1964), especially ‘Augenblick und Bild’; Sonia Neef, *Imprint and Trace: Handwriting in the Age of Technology*, trans. by Anthony Mathews (London: Reaktion, 2011); and Carlo Ginzburg, *Threads and Traces: True, False, Fictive*, trans. by Anne C. Tedeschi and John Tedeschi (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012).

an object as opposed to the knowledge derived *from/in* it. Benne suggests that Peter Szondi initiates literary through the insistence that a literary text is made of words and not of thoughts represented in words.¹²⁰ Materiality is therefore invoked against any concept of ideal text, against *Geist*, as well as against the idea that texts can be read independent of their reception contexts and the cultural, historical, or environmental contexts of their production:

Die Perspektive der Materialität richtet sich somit in ihrem Kern sowohl gegen die traditionelle Auffassung von Autor/Genie, Werk und Kompositionsprozess als auch gegen die hermeneutische, vornehmlich auf die Extrahierung von Sinn gerichtete Tradition insgesamt, die den literarischen Text als Reservoir repräsentierter Bedeutungen aussieht, die es zu entschlüsseln gilt. Sie setzt sich ein für den Eigenwert oder sogar den Primat von Überlieferungen, Varianten, Schreibwerkzeugen, Medien, doch kann diese Aufzählung nicht erschöpfend sein; ständig kommen neue Verwendungen hinzu.¹²¹

Re-embedding the object into the processes of understanding allows Benne to complicate the hermeneutic model of literature and speak of an *event* of understanding, what he terms the 'Handlungsaspekt der Gegenständlichkeit'. This redraws the mind-body dualism of strictly material and strictly non-ontological approaches by integrating mind and body, or meaning and the literary object, in a dynamic and inexhaustible meaning-process. That can only be thought, 'wenn das Materiale nicht mehr als statische Stofflichkeit oder *res extensa* im weitesten Sinne, sondern als erlebter Prozess - und das ist das Ereignis – konzipiert wird'.¹²² Mind and body, meaning and material object, must be thought together and neither side of the dichotomy can be said to 'produce' the other, since their relation is more an interaction in a process that goes both ways. A text is no vehicle for meaning but is itself an integral part of a more complex process.

Sinn und Gegenständlichkeit lassen sich nicht mehr in absoluter Hinsicht trennen, da der Sinn nur in distribuerter Form existiert. Literatur ist eine Form der Erinnerung, die sich in bestimmten materiellen Prozessen erweitert und verteilt, von der motorischen Aktion des Schreibens bis zur Verfertigung von Arbeitskladden, Büchern und ihrer Verbreitung und Lektüre.¹²³

¹²⁰ Benne, p. 72.

¹²¹ Ibid., p. 83.

¹²² Ibid., pp. 136-37.

¹²³ Ibid., pp. 149-50.

Benne's reintegration of literary objectivity to the understanding of literature therefore moves us away from text-immanent interpretation and back to the stuff of literature, specifically the stuff of literary manuscripts. It depicts the impossibility of separating meaning from object and thereby offers an insight into approaches to material culture, amongst which we can include Zweig's writing on manuscripts.

4.3 Between Mind and Body

The interaction of mind and body is precisely what we find in Zweig's essays. For all the tangibility of his descriptions, there remains something beyond the corporeal in the encounter with the manuscript. The essay 'Die Welt der Autographen' shows Zweig grappling with the experience of a manuscript, contrasting and then integrating intellectual cognition, or spiritual effects, and bodily sensation.

Die Welt der Autographen ist keine unmittelbar sichtbare und sinnliche Welt: sie ist fühlbar einzig durch Phantasie, erkenntlich erst durch Bildung und gastlich nur jenen, die ihr Verständniswillen und die nicht allzu häufige Begabung zur Ehrfurcht entgegenbringen. Andere Sammlungen, etwa jene von Bildern, Plastiken und Zeichnungen appellieren unmittelbar an den Blick, noch ehe sie sich an Gefühl oder Gedanken wenden [...]. Alle diese Welten, jede einzelne eine Abkürzung der ganzen vielfältigen Welt, liegen gleichsam aufgeschlagen mit offenen Blättern, jeder kann in sie eingehen und in ihr wohnhaft werden, denn sie wirken als klares, faßbares Element ohne Übergang auf die Sinne. Die Welt der Autographen nun ist geheimnisvoller, denn ihre äußeren Formen sind vollkommen unscheinbar und sinnlich schönheitslos, sie entbehren jeder Verführung für den zufälligen Blick. Die Wirkung, die von ihnen ausgehen kann, ist eher eine seelenhafte als eine körperliche. Mehr fühlbar als sachlich, drängt sie sich nicht ungerufen auf, sondern will von innen her, aus der Wurzel und dem Kern ihres magischen Wesens beschworen sein. Denn was ist eine solche Sammlung von Handschriften, selbst eine höchster Kostbarkeit, was ist sie dem lässigen zufälligen Anblick anders als ein gehäufte Wust verstaubter, gebräunter, zerfallener, beschmutzter Papierblätter, ein raschelndes Durcheinander von Briefen, Akten und

Dokumenten, ein Krümel abgetaner unlebendiger Dinge, scheinbar nichts Besseres wert als zerfetzt und verbrannt zu werden.¹²⁴

Zweig lists the attributes necessary to a perceiver entering the world of the manuscript. These criteria privilege entry to someone creative, with the faculty to imagine a world, someone educated in literary matters and someone capable of feeling awe. The manuscript is therefore rendered mysterious and impenetrable at first glance, if not even inhospitable [*ungastlich*] to those without the requisite qualities. The emphasis on a secret element behind the surface develops the intangible corollary to the initially sensory experience, which leads Zweig to suggest that the atmosphere of the encounter is 'eher eine seelenhafte als eine körperliche' and 'mehr fühlbar als sachlich'. These adjectives are themselves not wholly immaterial and still evoke something *sensible*. They qualify the experience as dependent on the material object but also simultaneously more than just the brute limits of that object.

While he evokes a magical element behind the surface of the manuscript, Zweig still devotes most of his description to external qualities, emphasising a materiality even when dismissing it. Thus, as he rhetorically diminishes the manuscript collection as mere illegible, insignificant papers to the untrained and accidental perceiver, he does so by animating the stuff he calls dead. He depicts a 'gehäufter Wust' through his own heap of adjectives, immediately adding colour and texture to the image. The 'Krümel abgetaner unlebendiger Dinge' is conversely brought to life as a 'raschelndes Durcheinander', evoking a living, moving object and that continues in the process of shredding and burning. Zweig's rhetorical dismissal of the manuscript's significance, as a means of heightening the magic behind it, therefore exposes his experience's dependence on the materiality of the object.

Zweig precariously integrates the two aspects of experience in a striking image:

Denn es ist immer ein Geistiges vonnöten, um das bedeutsame Blatt von dem wesenlosen Schriftstück zu unterscheiden, und das Geistige ist selten mächtig in unserer zeitlichen Welt. Ehe man derlei Blätter lieben und werten kann, tut es not, erst den Menschen zu lieben und zu werten, der sie beschrieben hat, man muß Ehrfurcht empfinden vor der Hand, die diese knisternden Blätter berührte und jene Feder geführt. Nur dann, wenn man solche Blätter als die sichtbaren Reliquien von Unsterblichen, als die sinnlichen Lebensspuren großer Existenzen ahnend erfaßt, nur dann kann ein geistiges und geisterhaftes Leben von diesen

¹²⁴ Zweig, 'Die Welt der Autographen', p. 103.

abgestorbenen Blättern in uns überklingen, ein Gefühl fast spektraler Gegenwart, wie sie wohl kein anderes Medium der Beschwörung ähnlich körperhaft erreicht.¹²⁵

Reiterating the correct disposition, the openness and even love that the perceiver must possess in the interaction with the manuscript, Zweig reveals how life can emanate from the once dead pages. It appears in a hybrid figure, a 'fast spektraler Gegenwart', a spectral presence, whose ghostliness – foregrounded in the adjective 'geisterhaft' – is very much physical ('körperhaft'). While Zweig precedes this image by evoking the creator behind the manuscript, whose greatness must be acknowledged as a way into the manuscript, the presence that accompanies the experience is more diffuse and not tantamount to the fugitive presence of the writer. Zweig is rather reacting to a quality of writing, to the object and not to a conjured authorial spirit.

Vedder relates this figure to Derrida's concept of the 'spectre', which draws on the notion of hybridity to articulate a 'Zugleich von An- und Abwesenheit'.¹²⁶ Restaging this particular reading experience, Zweig shows the potential for a present interaction with a material object to go beyond its facticity and for that object to fade at its edges into a less tangible but no less sensible feeling. The paradox, expressed in the simultaneity of presence and absence, is encapsulated in the spectral figure. For Derrida, the spectre 'is doubtless a supernatural and paradoxical phenomenality, the furtive and ungraspable visibility of the invisible, or an invisibility of a visible X [...]; it is also, no doubt, the tangible intangibility of a proper body without flesh, but still the body of someone as someone other'.¹²⁷ Zweig flits between material and spiritual idioms precisely because he experiences a paradoxical phenomenality, resorting to the spectre to convey the flickers of life in the inanimate manuscript. The emphasis on hybridity recurs when he later writes, 'dies also ist die eigentliche Gabe der Autographen an uns, ihre unvergleichliche, seelenhafte Schönheit, ihre – wenn man den Gegensatz wagen darf – geistige Sinnlichkeit'.¹²⁸ Elsewhere, he articulates the manuscript as 'das sinnlich-geistige Schattenspiel'.¹²⁹ Zweig proliferates these paradoxes and conjoins spirit and matter in the description of the manuscript encounter.

Vedder does not explore the idea of paradoxical phenomenality in another pertinent manifestation – the concept of 'aura'. Benjamin's thesis on the loss of aura treats the

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 103.

¹²⁶ Vedder, p. 146.

¹²⁷ Jacques Derrida. *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning, and the New International*, trans. by Peggy Kamuf (New York; London: Routledge, 1994), p.6.

¹²⁸ Zweig, 'Die Welt der Autographen', p. 104-05.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 'Vom Handschriftensammeln', p. 121.

phenomenon of 'was im Zeitalter der technischen Reproduzierbarkeit des Kunstwerks verkuemmert' when the artwork once had its 'sakrale *Unantastbarkeit*, *Einzigartigkeit* und *Ferne*' guaranteed.¹³⁰ Zweig similarly discusses the singularity of the manuscript: 'Nur dies, was an ihnen nicht käuflich ist und nicht mechanisch reproduzierbar, nur dies gleichsam Atmosphärische ihrer Geisterwelt scheint mir die Kraft zu sein, die ihnen erhöhte Existenz verleiht, nicht (wie viele meinen) etwa ihre bloße Seltenheit'.¹³¹ The irreproducibility of the original and the evocation of a distant world are shared here. In the constant return to the dichotomy of proximity and distance, Zweig replicates the dichotomy of presence and absence, thereby enhancing the paradoxical phenomenality of the manuscript. Zweig portrays a 'Gefühl der Nähe von Gewaltigen', the 'Sich-nahe-Bringen ins Zeitlose entschwebter Gestalten', or the 'sinnliche Nähe von großen Gestalten'.¹³² Benjamin, too, in one of his articulations of the aura concept, frames the experience of trace and aura in terms of distance: 'Spur und Aura. Die Spur ist Erscheinung einer Nähe, so fern das sein mag, was sie hinterließ. Die Aura ist Erscheinung einer Ferne, so nah das sein mag, was sie hervorruft. In der Spur werden wir der Sache habhaft; in der Aura bemächtigt sie sich unser'.¹³³ And, in a phrase that calls to mind the spectral presence, Benjamin suggests the definition, 'Ein sonderbares Gespinst von Raum und Zeit: einmalige Erscheinung einer Ferne, so nah sie sein mag', where 'Gespinst' haunts the word 'Gespinst'.¹³⁴

Aura encompasses the spectral figure's paradoxical phenomenality but adds the cultic aspect. Zweig evokes the cultic realm in his criteria for a perceiver's disposition, which demand awe before the artist whose work one encounters.

Ich glaube, diese Macht der Autographen liegt in einer verbindenden, beschwörenden Magie, in jenem uralten kultischen Gefühl, das allen Völkern, allen Zeiten und allen Zonen, als dem tiefsten Wesen des Menschen unlösbar zugeteilt ist, in jenem Kult der Frömmigkeit, wie er Göttern und Heroen erwiesen wird und der immer ein sinnliches Zeichen, eine Lebens- oder Geisterspur dieser Unerreichbaren fordert. Wo überall sich starkes Gefühl der Verehrung, der Liebe,

¹³⁰ Marleen Stoessel, *Aura: das vergessene Menschliche: zu Sprache und Erfahrung bei Walter Benjamin* (Munich: Hanser: 1983), p. 24.

¹³¹ Zweig, 'Die Welt der Autographen', p. 105.

¹³² Ibid., pp. 104-07.

¹³³ Walter Benjamin, *Das Passagen-Werk* (M 16 a, 4), in Benjamin, *Gesammelte Schriften*, V, p. 560.

¹³⁴ Benjamin, *Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit* (1936), in *Gesammelte Schriften*, 1.2: *Abhandlungen*, p. 440.

der Leidenschaft auftut, braucht der Mensch ein Gegenständliches, um in jenem Symbol die Gegenwart seines Gefühles stärker zu empfinden.¹³⁵

The spectral figure allows for a simultaneous presence and absence, matter and spirit, in the manner of Benne's understanding of the process of interacting with the literary manuscript. Times and spaces – the writer's and the reader's – interweave in the event of this cognitive process and rely on the trace and substance of literature as much as on external thought. Zweig, however, can often only point to the unreachable [*das Unerreichbare*], the inconceivable, or incommensurable, so that the experience becomes static, against any idea of process. In these moments, Zweig appears suspended, paralysed in the auratic space, unable to advance towards a secret, rendering the reader of manuscripts 'de[r] Ergriffene[]'.¹³⁶

Zweig's intuitive or ontological approach to the literary manuscript is therefore accompanied by the potential for seizure or stasis, as Zweig sets up an impossible goal, which is necessarily thwarted at every attempt. With this in mind, Vedder's conclusions stretch too far in allowing Zweig's method to pass as interpretive:

So ist er kein Archivar, sondern ein Sammler, Leser und Autor. Denn um die Autographen dem Staub, den Mäusen und der Unaufmerksamkeit zu entreißen, müssen sie 'gelesen' werden, entziffert in Sinnzusammenhänge gestellt, zu Sammlungsgegenständen gemacht, mit Imagination versehen und: weitergeschrieben werden – 'das magische Medium der Autographen', die vom Leben ihrer Autoren nicht nur zu zeugen vermögen, sondern es gleichsam vergegenwärtigen.¹³⁷

Vedder captures the creativity with which Zweig experiences his manuscripts but Zweig is no *reader* and *decoder*, when he is at pains everywhere to avoid the word *lesen*. Vedder reads Zweig too close to the practice of genetic criticism, which 'penetrate[s] into the genesis of the literary artwork and convey[s] this process through interpretation'.¹³⁸ Rather, Zweig penetrates into the genesis of a literary work and conveys this process by creatively reanimating that experience.

¹³⁵ Zweig, 'Die Welt der Autographen', p. 104.

¹³⁶ Zweig, 'Vom Handschriftensammeln', p. 120.

¹³⁷ Vedder, p. 149-50.

¹³⁸ *Genetic Criticism and the Creative Process: Essays from Music, Literature, and Theatre*, ed. by William Kindermann and Joseph E. Jones (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2009), p. 8.

Zweig's position is not one of the critic with 'critical *distance*', precisely because he is *proximal* to his material, gripped [*ergriffen*] by the aura of the literary object and intuitively feeling [*spüren*] his way through traces [*Spuren*], rather than reading in any analytical way. Jacobs makes this very comparison between *Editionswissenschaftler* and manuscript collectors, and conversely understands the textual editor to be *closer* to the text than the collector:

Die Übertragung von Texten der Vergangenheit, die auf einer durchaus anderen Materialität beruhen, als die ist, in die sie transferiert werden, macht den Abstand zu diesen Texten bewusst. Edition verfremdet die alten Texte durch diese Übertragung. Die Übertragung ist nicht, wie man meinen könnte, ein Hindernis des Verständnisses, sondern dessen erster Anstoß. Nicht der Autographensammler ist nahe bei Goethe, sondern der Editor und der Leser einer modernen historisch-kritischen Edition, und zwar gerade deshalb, weil er im Bewusstsein des Abstandes, das eine solche Ausgabe durch ihre Beigaben deutlich macht, diesen nicht ignoriert, sondern sich der Notwendigkeit seiner eigenen Bemühung um den edierten Text bewusst bleibt.¹³⁹

Academic criticism's distance from the text achieves a different level of analysis and the text becomes more accessible through this new information. The collector, on the other hand, is too close to the object and cannot see beyond it and grasp it in this complexity. The two practices work in opposite ways: the critic works from the outside in and the collector from the inside out.

Jacobs sees in critical editions the translation into the present of something lost in the past, all the while accepting that the distance required to achieve that is accompanied by the loss of something in the material text – what he calls the individuality of the author, which is only expressed in the manuscript.¹⁴⁰ The charge against the manuscript collector is that the collector is too close to the object to contextualize it, staying close to the origins of a work, suspending the text in a past we can never reach. For Zweig, manuscripts never simply show the life of an author, 'sondern es gleichsam vergegenwärtigen'.¹⁴¹ Zweig's form of *Vergegenwärtigung* may not correlate with Jacobs's idea that 'Editionen transferieren Vergangenes in die jeweilige Gegenwart', as they favour different approaches to the literary

¹³⁹ Wilhelm Jacobs, 'Materie – Materialität – Geist', *Editio*, 23 (2009), 14-20 (pp. 19-20).

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹⁴¹ Vedder, p. 150.

manuscript. Zweig's essays are materialisations of his own temporary transfer into the past, empathetically representing the present of the writing-scene.

The manuscript collector's proximity to his object returns the discussion precisely to the ontological aspect of Zweig's approach, which understands his task as separate from the analytical scholar. The collector seeks an intuitive rather than analytical relation to his object and thus restages a pre-hermeneutic experience in his essays. A resistance towards interpretation, in relation to a literary *object* rather than a *text*, is a strategy that continually offers the reader an insight into the multiplicity, contingency and uncertainty of literary creation. Görner articulates a similar idea without pointing to the manuscript essays: 'Sie bringt uns dazu, mit Zweig mitzufühlen; uns zu fragen, was ihn bewogen haben mochte, Empathie vor Hermeneutik zu setzen und dabei ein weiteres völlig auszuklammern: die Deutungsvielfalt, die jedes anspruchsvolle Kunstwerk nicht nur ermöglicht, sondern erfordert'.¹⁴² The suggestion here is that, for Zweig, the artwork demands an approach that does not reduce it to an interpretation but instead shows, again and again, the possibility inherent in its making. By animating the encounter with the manuscript and restaging the experience of the literary manuscript, Zweig seeks to simply draw us into the world of the manuscript to *feel* the presence of creation before we inevitably *read*, cognize, give meaning. In de Biasi's words: 'commencer, autant qu'il est praticable, par ne pas interpreter'.¹⁴³

The split between a pre-hermeneutical *presence* and meaning is elucidated by Gumbrecht:

For us, presence phenomena always come as 'presence effects' because they are necessarily surrounded by, wrapped into, and perhaps even mediated by clouds and cushions of meaning. It is extremely difficult – if not impossible for us not to read [...] Objects of aesthetic experience (lived experience) are characterized by an oscillation between presence effects and meaning effects. While it may be true, in principle, that all of our (human) relationships to things of the world must be both meaning- and presence-based relations, I still claim that, under contemporary cultural conditions, we need a specific framework (namely, the situation of 'insularity' and the disposition of 'focused intensity') in order to really experience (*erleben*) the productive tension, the oscillation between meaning and

¹⁴² Rüdiger Görner, "'Dialog mit den Nerven". Stefan Zweig und die Kunst des Dämonischen', in Birk and Eicher (eds), *Stefan Zweig und das Dämonische*, pp. 36-44 (p. 41).

¹⁴³ De Biasi, p. 263.

presence – instead of just bracketing the presence side, as we seem to do, quite automatically, in our so very Cartesian everyday lives.¹⁴⁴

What Gumbrecht calls ‘the disposition of focused intensity’ applies to Zweig’s awestruck disposition before approaching the artwork. The focus of the appreciative reader of literary greats and the intensity of one capable of an almost religious awe and love before creative genius makes up Zweig’s ‘disposition of focused intensity’. Following Gumbrecht, Zweig’s approach can be distanced from the practice of ‘reading’ and considered closer to the act of ‘feeling’ [*spüren*], as he often expresses it himself. The oscillation between meaning and presence effects is apparent in his spectral figure, fugitively present and then absent. Entering the world of the manuscript prioritizes the exposure to presence effects and a renewed engagement with writing as apart from meaning, what Wellbery calls the ‘exteriority’ of writing, which resists the ‘signifying scene’:

this scene of sense, in its comprehensibility, this hermeneutic scene par excellence, has been ripped apart, torn, disrupted, or fragmented in such a way that it is, first of all, no longer a scene transparent to the subject, no longer saturated by the function of representation, of *Vor-* and *Darstellung*, no longer bathed in visibility; and second, no longer scene of sense, no longer dominated by the concept of meaning, by the hermeneutic presupposition of *Sinn*. [...] what has displaced and relativized the presupposition of sense, is nothing other than *Writing, Ecriture, Schrift*.¹⁴⁵

The shift from the communicability to the ontology or exteriority of writing is the shift from meaning to presence and is a movement that oscillates back and forth; meaning is always being produced. When Nancy calls ‘[a]ll production of sense’ a ‘deathwork’,¹⁴⁶ it is with the resignation that such a production is inevitable, yet he lays emphasis on the gap before sense-making, on pre-sense (as *presence*). He writes, ‘experience is being born to the presence of a sense, a presence itself nascent, and only nascent’, which points to the space between presence and meaning, in which a kind of authentic ‘experience’ is to be found. This state of the not-yet-constructed thought maps onto what we have been calling the pre-hermeneutic and Nancy’s idea of experience as nascent is tantamount to the oscillation Gumbrecht depicts. Both attempts to conceptualize the pre-hermeneutic

¹⁴⁴ Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, *Production of Presence: What Meaning Cannot Convey* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), pp. 106-7.

¹⁴⁵ Wellbery, ‘The Exteriority of Writing’, p. 11-12.

¹⁴⁶ Jean-Luc Nancy, *The Birth to Presence* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), p. 3

experience are therefore characterized by process (oscillation and nascence) and take us back to literary objectivity that demands a processual perception as event.

Zweig's experience always has the potential to become an event: 'Nicht also um einer Wissenschaft, sondern um eines höheren Wissens, um einer seelisch-sinnlichen Nähe von großen Gestalten willen wird der Blick auf ein solches beschriebenes Blatt manchem zum Ereignis'.¹⁴⁷ He introduces the concept of event specifically after denying primacy to the academic approach in his experience – 'nicht also um einer Wissenschaft [willen]' and points once again beyond immediate cognition, describing it as hybrid proximity – material and spiritual, present and absent. Ultimately, only through this focused experience can the gaze on the manuscript become an event. And that experiential event is a collaborative process for Zweig, in which not only is one induced to empathy with the creator but the reader becomes intrinsic in the creation of the artwork: 'jeder wahre Genuß ist kein reines Empfangen, sondern ein inneres Mitwirken an dem Werke'.¹⁴⁸ He develops the idea of co-creation in 'Das Geheimnis des künstlerischen Schaffens':

Statt wie von einem Turm mit einem Blick eine Landschaft zu umfassen, steigen wir Stufe um Stufe empor, bei jeder neuen Erkenntnis von Blatt zu Blatt wird unser eigenes Auge wissender. Wir empfangen dadurch, dass wir den schöpferischen Akt in allen seinen Phasen noch einmal miterleben, eine Lektion und gleichzeitig eine Vision des künstlerischen Prozesses, wie sie kein Buch, kein Vortrag, keine Wissenschaft uns gewähren kann. Ebenso wie das Geheimnis der bildenden Kunst, kann sich das der dichterischen, der kompositorischen uns erschließen, wenn wir die Urform von ersten Anfang bis zur Vollendung begleiten [...] In diesen Minuten des Nacherlebens haben wir alle seine Qualen, seine Ungeduld, seine Mühe und die Ekstase des Endgültigen mitempfunden. Wir haben *mitgeschaffen* und durch dieses Mitfühlen die Geburt des Kunstwerks miterlebt.¹⁴⁹

At every turn, Zweig balances any hint of analysis with sensory experience, so that the co-creating reader receives both a *Lektion* and a *Vision* of the artistic process. Zweig points beyond the idea of empathy towards a concept of co-creation (*Mitschaffen*) and touches on what Benne understands as meaning in 'distributed form', and what Wellbery calls a 'relativization' of signification. The consequences of the 'ripped up' hermeneutic scene are 'contingency',

¹⁴⁷ Zweig, 'Die Welt der Autographen', p. 107.

¹⁴⁸ Zweig, 'Das Geheimnis', p. 369.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 370.

‘accident’ and ‘singularity’.¹⁵⁰ In other words, the shift to considering the writing instance opens an inexhaustible space before the deathwork of hermeneutics that is alive to all manner of associations.

A manuscript encounter conceived as co-creation brings us back to the concept of aura. Dieter Mersch points to the interactional element of the auratic experience: ‘nichts anderes bezeichnet Aura: Das Phänomen einer Bemächtigung durch Anderes, dem ebenso ein Entmächtigt-werden des Subjekts entspricht’. He relates the concept to Novalis’s *Aufmerksamkeit*, glossed as a pre-hermeneutic perception: ‘Wir merken auf, noch bevor wir "etwas" bemerkt haben; der Blick wird aufgeschlagen, das Ohr geöffnet, der Tastsinn alarmiert, ohne dass wir bereits wüssten, worauf wir achteten, was uns aufhorchen ließ oder was wir gerade fühlten’.¹⁵¹ This proximity to objects in the world through a process of de-subjectivization calls to mind the revelation of Lord Chandos or Rilke’s *Neue Gedichte*. In a review of the latter, Zweig writes, ‘Totes beginnt zu erwachen’ and with the poet’s ‘intensive[s] Betrachten umreißt er nicht mehr die Gegenstände, sondern er dringt in sie ein’.¹⁵² To wake dead traces is at the heart of Zweig’s manuscripts essays and a focused intensity, or ‘intensives Betrachten’, is a step away from rationalization and interpretation, an ‘Ablassen von allem Tätigsein und ein Sichöffnen fuer das, was jeweils geschieht’.¹⁵³ In other words, to relive the process of creation, to evoke ‘Empathie vor Hermeneutik’, requires an openness, or *Gelassenheit*, which Mersch calls with Heidegger an ‘Offenheit für Geheimnis’¹⁵⁴ – a definition that might encapsulate Zweig’s whole approach to manuscripts.

‘Wenn wir die ganze Welt anblicken mit ihren Rätseln, das tiefste und geheimnisvollste von allen bleibt doch das Geheimnis der Schöpfung’.¹⁵⁵ Zweig’s collection was driven by the search for the secret of creation. The secret is a productive impossibility for Zweig, so that his approach might be described as a continual ‘Offenheit für Geheimnis’ that enabled him to continue to engage with manuscripts as a lifelong process. If Zweig maintained ‘immer war nur das Schaffen meine Freude, nie das Geschaffene’ (WVG, p. 378), that focus on process above completion mapped onto his reading of manuscripts that refrained from interpretation and rather relived and co-experienced the process of creation.

¹⁵⁰ Wellbery, ‘The Exteriority of Writing’, pp. 19-20.

¹⁵¹ Dieter Mersch, *Ereignis und Aura* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2002), p. 28.

¹⁵² Stefan Zweig, ‘Rilke. “Neue Gedichte”’, in *Begegnungen mit Büchern: Aufsätze und Einleitungen aus den Jahren 1902-1939* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1983), pp. 87-88.

¹⁵³ Mersch, *Ereignis und Aura*, p. 48.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

¹⁵⁵ Zweig, ‘Sinn und Schönheit’, p. 137.

Er muss sie demütig als etwas empfinden, das über seinem eigenen Können, über seinem vergänglichen Leben steht als ein Unbegreifliches. Aber gleichzeitig muss er mit wachem Denken sich bemühen, zu erfassen, wie dies Göttliche innerhalb unserer irdischen Welt entstanden ist. Er muss versuchen, das Unbegreifliche zu begreifen.¹⁵⁶

The paradox is key to an auratic aesthetic experience, 'denn die Aura ist der Ausdruck der Ausdrucklosen'.¹⁵⁷ Zweig continues, 'Da es uns nicht erlaubt ist, mit dem Künstler den Augenblick seiner Schöpfung *mitzuerleben*, können wir einzig versuchen, ihn *nachzuerleben*'.¹⁵⁸ Reliving this process of creation, retracing the steps, brings one closer to the secret but the reader is always one step behind. That impossibility is fundamental to the evocation of the aura, as Didi-Hubermann describes:

In order that a footprint arises, that the process takes place, the foot must sink into the sand, the walker must be there, in the exact spot where he leaves his trace. Yet in order that the imprint appears as a result, the foot must be lifted, separate itself from the sand and move away, in order to produce other imprints elsewhere; the walker is then obviously no longer there.¹⁵⁹

The just left footprint recalls Zweig's 'fast spektraler Gegenwart' and is the precarious experience of a moment of creation that could only be experienced in the absence of creative act. Therefore, 'the touch of the auratic moment is for ever conceivable in this "almost"',¹⁶⁰ that is, in the impossible search, or in the attempt 'das Unbegreifliche zu begreifen'.

Gumbrecht locates this impossibility at the heart of the interest in material culture: 'Der Wunsch, die Welten der Vergangenheit zu bewohnen, schließt jedenfalls das – nie vollkommen zu erfüllende – Begehren ein, diese Welten sinnlich wahrzunehmen'.¹⁶¹ The urge to live in the past through an engagement with material culture is impossible to fulfil and yet,

Es ist mein Eindruck, dass zwei Einstellungen gegenüber der Vergangenheit – das Gefühl unüberbrückbarer historischer Distanz und das entgegengesetzte Gefühl,

¹⁵⁶ Zweig, 'Das Geheimnis', p. 351

¹⁵⁷ Stoessel, p. 62.

¹⁵⁸ Zweig, 'Das Geheimnis', p. 352.

¹⁵⁹ Neef, p. 154.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 155.

¹⁶¹ Hans-Ulrich Gumbrecht, 'Ein Hauch von Ontik', p. 43.

nämlich dass Vergangenheit in Präsenz gebracht werden kann – in unserer Gegenwart nebeneinander existieren.¹⁶²

An awareness of the impossibility of reuniting with the past accompanies the continued pursuit of it. Zweig finds the same impossibility in his intimate manuscript experiences and in his overall approach to collecting, as he attempts to make the past – as creative moments – present again. For Zweig, '[w]ir haben kein anderes Zeichen, kein anderes Medium, um den schöpferischen Augenblick eines Kunstwerks nahe zu kommen, als die Urschrift'.¹⁶³ Gumbrecht, too, understands material culture as the entry point to the past:

Wie jeder Akt magischen Gegenwärtig-Machens [...] bedarf auch das Gegenwärtig-Machen vergangener Kultur eines materiellen Bezugsobjekts. Gegenstände fragmentarischen Charakters – zum Beispiel Manuskript-Fragmente – scheinen aus verschiedenen Gründen für diese Funktion besonders geeignet zu sein. Um ersten macht es die zu jedem Fragment gehörende Bruchstelle (jene 'Narbe', die an das Herausbrechen des Fragments aus einem größeren Ganzen erinnert) unmöglich, seine materielle Qualität zu übersehen. Zum zweiten wecken Fragmente als Metonymien für Ganzes die Begierde nach der Präsenz eben diese Ganzen. Schließlich regt uns die Teil-Wahrnehmung eines Objekts an, den Moment seiner vollen Präsenz zu imaginieren – und dieses Imaginieren kann so intensiv sein, dass es Muskelinnervationen und mithin Körperbewegungen provoziert.¹⁶⁴

Gumbrecht sees the fragment's enhanced potential for the act of making the past present because of its materiality and because of its metonymical allure, its inherent incompleteness, the 'almost' experience par excellence. Zweig's collection of mostly fragments offered that same attraction. The impulse to make artistic creation present, an act of *Vergegenwärtigung*, and its historical corollary of reliving the past, was at the heart of a collecting practice that sought to bring the vast spread of the history of European culture under his hands. The more creatively he could imagine that long gone world, the more tangibly its presence could be felt. That imagination demanded a proximity to the literary object, distance from interpretive signification, and an openness towards the secret: 'Und je mehr Magie uns gegeben ist, mit Phantasie aus diesen scheinbar altern Zeichen die Lebendigen zu beschwören, um so sinnlicher

¹⁶² Ibid., p. 43.

¹⁶³ Zweig, 'Vom Handschriftensammeln', p. 120.

¹⁶⁴ Gumbrecht, 'Ein Hauch von Ontik', p. 44.

gegenwärtig vermögen wir sie zu genießen'.¹⁶⁵ In the innovative focus on literary objectivity, Zweig enacts his experience of empathetic co-creation in his essays. To 'speak to the dead', 'aus totem Stoff ein Lebendiges zu gestalten', is a thread common to all of Zweig's writing but is nowhere better materialized than in these essays inspired by his collection of manuscripts.

4.4 The Return of the Author

Connecting Zweig's reflections on manuscripts to materialist approaches to text has shown the extreme potential of these essays to show a dynamic, distributed and collaborative aesthetic experience. At the same time, Zweig often points to an originary author concept. The artwork is never devoid of (divine) authorial inspiration: 'so werden mir vorzügliche Menschen durch ihre Handschrift auf eine magische Weise gegenwärtig'.¹⁶⁶ Zweig emphasizes how manuscripts are the means 'in diese Wesenheit dieses Mannes tiefer einzudringen',¹⁶⁷ as he witnesses the 'sichtbare Reliquien von Unsterblichen' and the 'sinnliche Lebensspuren großer Existenzen'.¹⁶⁸ Ginzburg usefully situates the author as ineluctably present in the manuscript, while pointing to the materiality of that presence: '[t]he shock conveyed by the autograph may perhaps be explained as follows: it reminds us that behind the immateriality of the content, which guarantees its reproducibility, there exists (or existed) the real bodies of men and women'.¹⁶⁹ Zweig's author concept does not simply represent a reduction of aesthetic experience to an encounter with a creator, however. Zweig's evocation of figures rarely mentions human figures, preferring the terms, 'Wesen', 'Dasein', 'Gegenwart' and the basic motivation behind his reflections is always the secret of *creation* and of the *creator*. Where a creator is invoked, it is in aid of a material understanding of text and not as a total replacement for it. To see authorial inspiration as complementary to materialist textual criticism allows Zweig's creative concept to resist being reduced to simply a consequence of a turn-of-the-century cult of genius.

Zweig's author figure is connected to his humanist imperative to highlight the creative achievement of writers, what he calls the 'moral lesson':

Aber auch eine moralische Lehre an uns alle geht von solchen Blättern aus, denn großartig erinnern sie uns, daß die Werke, die wir als vollendete bewundern, nicht

¹⁶⁵ Zweig, 'Die Welt der Autographen', p. 105.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 104.

¹⁶⁷ Zweig, 'Die Autographensammlung als Kunstwerk', p. 2.

¹⁶⁸ Zweig, 'Die Welt der Autographen', p. 103.

¹⁶⁹ Carlo Ginzburg, 'Preface', in Pedro Corrêa do Lago, *True to the Letter: 800 Years of Remarkable Correspondence, Documents and Autographs* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2004).

bloß gütige Geschenke des Genius an den Künstler waren, sondern Frucht mühsamer, strenger, aufopfernder Arbeit. Sie zeigen uns die Schlachtfelder der geistigen Auseinandersetzung des Menschen mit der Materie, den ewigen Kampf Jakobs mit dem Engel, sie führen uns hinab in das innere Reich der Gestaltung, und um seiner heiligen Mühe willen lassen sie uns den Menschen im Künstler doppelt lieben und doppelt verehren. Alles aber was unsern Blick von Äußerlichen ins Innerliche führt, vom Vergänglichen ins Unvergängliche, soll gesegnet sein und darum sollen wir diese äußerlich unscheinbaren Blätter um ihrer Schönheit nur noch ehrfürchtiger betrachten, denn keine Liebe ist reiner als die zum geistig Schönen. Alle anderen vergehen, nur sie dauert fort und fort im Sinne des Dichters: 'A thing of beauty is a joy for ever'.¹⁷⁰

Zweig discusses the real-world significance of gaining proximity to the traces of deceased authors. The key for Zweig is the aspect of work, which elevates process and production above the product itself, through an ethic of sacrifice. The tangible materialisation of struggle allows the onlooker to appreciate the artist doubly as an exceptional genius but also as a worker. As he sets out at the beginning of the same essay,

Denn sonderbar zwiespältig ist ja unsere innere Beziehung zu den großen Genien der Menschheit. Wir fühlen einerseits gewiß, daß sie größer, göttlicher gewesen als wir, die kleinen gewöhnlichen Menschen, wir empfinden sie über uns und das macht uns ehrfurchtsvoll. Aber andererseits empfinden wir auch eine geheime Genugtuung in dem Bewußtsein, daß diese göttlichen, diese übermenschlichen Schöpfer ebensolche Erdenmenschen waren wie wir selbst, daß sie, die über uns sind im Geiste, mitten unter uns lebten, irdische Wesen, die in Häusern weilten und in Betten schliefen und Kleider trugen und Briefe schrieben, und um dieser Diesseitigkeit willen haben wir eine so fromme Lust, pietätvoll alles zu bewahren, was an dies ihr irdisches Dasein erinnert. Aus diesem stolzen Gefühl ihrer Mitmenschlichkeit lieben wir, was an ihre Gegenwart sinnlich erinnert, darum durchforschen wir die Bücher über sie, sammeln wir ihre Bilder und die Berichte der Zeitgenossen; nichts aber gibt uns so herrlich eindringlich den Beweis ihres schöpferischen Daseins wie ihre Handschriften.¹⁷¹

¹⁷⁰ Zweig, 'Sinn und Schönheit', p. 139-40.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., p. 136.

The emphasis on work [*Arbeit*] is related to the return to processual documents in the disciplines of textual or genetic criticism. Critics have made the case for the return of the author to literary studies, by extension from their return to the material conditions and contingencies of a text's production. John Bryant's concept of the 'fluid text' employs a focus on work, making the distinction between *travail* and *oeuvre*, just as Zweig uses the term *Werk* as the static object of the bibliophile in contrast to the materialisation of *Arbeit* in manuscripts.¹⁷²

Bryant develops the consequences of thinking about work [*travail*, *Arbeit*]:

the phenomena that constitute a literary work are best conceived not as a produced work (*oeuvre*) but as work itself (*travail*), the power of the people and the culture to create a text [...] in this notion of work as energy we are free to consider the deepest psychological and cultural principles that trigger a particular process of literary creation, as well as the materialized pulses of combined private and public creativity that emerge as what we call texts or versions of texts.¹⁷³

Bryant's notion of origin is distributed between authorial and social factors, between psychological and cultural principles, and yet the return to the site of the production necessarily involves a recognition of the author, if not intention, in literary creation – something dismissed in text-immanent approaches to literature. Countering the hold of de-authored literary theory through a consideration of genetic criticism and textual production, Bushell asks:

Is it possible to acknowledge the limitations of an expressive or "originary" model of creativity (which over-privileges the authorial mind as source), but also to allow that the study of process must concern itself with "origins" and to some extent with the creative consciousness which bears upon our understanding of the empirical object? In other words, can we create a space which will allow for the study of textual process in ways that respect philosophical advances, whilst retaining space for authorial activity or, at least, a teleology of development?¹⁷⁴

Without doubting the changed theoretical space following de-authoring literary criticism, Bushell attempts to qualify the radical absence of creative consciousness in iconic theoretical

¹⁷² Zweig, "‘Ein Blättchen Papier...' Eine Apologie des Autographensammelns', *Sammlerkabinett*, 1 (1923), reprinted in M, p. 101.

¹⁷³ John Bryant, *The Fluid Text: A Theory of Revision and Editing for Book and Screen* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), p.61.

¹⁷⁴ Sally Bushell, 'Textual Process and the Denial of Origins', *Textual Cultures*, 2 (Autumn 2007), 100-117 (p. 107).

texts.¹⁷⁵ Zweig retains in the same way an inspired author-figure yet balances that at every turn with the worker-author, the author of the work-in-progress, through his focus on processual documents, the fragments of his collection. 'No longer the divine creator, giving birth to a completed work in all its certain glory, the writer of the text (as opposed to the author of the *oeuvre*) is a labourer who struggles with various stages and phases in writing, and whose hard work is revisited by the editor'.¹⁷⁶ Zweig retains both the possibility of a divine creator and a labourer in his author concept, 'Inspiration *plus* Arbeit'. Genetic criticism also leaves open a notion of epiphanic creation through a return to first drafts, or 'météorites matricielles, des embrayeurs d'écriture, des amerces rédactionnelles qui renvoient aux processus les plus archaïques de la genèse'.¹⁷⁷

A recent overview of authorship suggests the death of the author is a misnomer, citing Barthes's own reintroduction of the author as 'playful guest' in 'From Work to Text'.¹⁷⁸ Discussing Agamben's 'Author as Gesture', theories of subjectivity and authorship return author and materiality to literature. The spectre finds an analogous figure in Agamben's author: 'the author is not dead, but to position oneself as an author means occupying the place of a "dead man". An author-subject does exist, and yet he is attested to only through the traces of his absence'.¹⁷⁹ In other words, Agamben employs a paradoxical phenomenality:

the infamous life somehow constitutes the paradigm of the presence-absence of the author in the work. If we call "gesture" what remains unexpressed in each expressive act, we can say that, exactly like infamy, the author is present in the text only as a gesture that makes expression possible precisely by establishing a central emptiness within this expression.¹⁸⁰

This auratic simultaneity of proximity and distance to presence is inhabited in Zweig's manuscript encounter. With this spectral presence in mind, the idea of sacrificial work in Zweig's 'moral lesson' can be understood as the work *for which* the author was *sacrificed*, for the author must be absent for that working gesture to be experienced. Writing as a sacrificial act results in

¹⁷⁵ Bushell cites Roland Barthes ('The Death of the Author', 'From Work to Text', *The Pleasure of the Text*, 'Theory of the Text') and Michel Foucault ('What is an Author?') as representative of theory that inaugurated the 'death of the author'.

¹⁷⁶ Alice Kaplan and Philippe Roussin, 'A Changing idea of Literature: The Bibliothèque de la Pléiade', *Yale French Studies*, 89 (1996), 237-262 (p. 261).

¹⁷⁷ De Biasi, pp. 61-62.

¹⁷⁸ *Theorien und Praktiken der Autorschaft*, ed. by Matthias Schaffrck and Marcus Willand (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015), p. 44.

¹⁷⁹ Giorgio Agamben, 'Author as Gesture', in Agamben, *Profanations* (New York: Zone, 2007), p. 64.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

the sacralization of the 'victim's offering'.¹⁸¹ Peters conceives 'literarische Kreation als Doppelfigur aus Tod und Leben', and suggests 'sakrifizielle Autorschaft ist mithin die sprechende Geste eines Autors *post mortem auctoris*',¹⁸² which theorizes the death of the author in terms closer to Zweig.

Critics have invoked the 'return of the author' in relation to Zweig's biographies as a possible route towards revitalising his literary standing.

To some degree, a significant resurgence of critical interest in Zweig has depended on reorientation and a new serious engagement with the idea of authorship itself. Critical approaches which decades ago argue for the 'death of the author' [...] while exerting tremendous influence in literary scholarship for a generation, have, I believe, already exhausted themselves. They need to be, and are being, replaced with other approaches that reevaluate and revalue authorship and authors in relationship to literature and culture. [...] by attributing more serious scholarly concern to different concepts of authorship and authors, Zweig is likely to gain ground and perhaps re-establish himself as a writer deserving more serious and new critical consideration in the twenty-first century.¹⁸³

The re-evaluation of authorship is used as a springboard here for the speculative rehabilitation of Zweig as biographer, which is denied not only by Gelber's own summation of Zweig's biographical style but also by the lack of commercial interest in these texts, despite the flourishing Zweig revival. The differences between Zweig's biographical approach and his experiential approach to manuscripts, essentially the difference between the empathetic reconstruction of a writer's life and the staging of a reader's encounter with materiality, reveal different emphases in Zweig's author concept. Where the former relies on a narrative arc, on fate and destiny, the latter enacts an 'Offenheit für Geheimnis'.

In the manuscript essays, Zweig pursues the secret of *creation* and offers a glimpse of the process of composition and the process of reading manuscripts. His critical reconsideration cannot simply follow from a relaxing of the theoretical constrictions on an author-concept, as if

¹⁸¹ *Theorien und Praktiken der Autorschaft*, p. 47; see also Bernhard Teuber, 'Sacrificium auctoris. Die Anthropologie des Opfers und das postmoderne Konzept der Autorschaft', in *Autorschaft. Positionen und Revisionen*, ed. Heinrich Detering, pp. 121-141.

¹⁸² Karin Peters, *Der gespenstische Souverän: Opfer und Autorschaft im 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2013), p. 38.

¹⁸³ Mark H. Gelber, 'Stefan Zweig and the Concept of World Literature', in *Stefan Zweig and World Literature: Twenty-First Century Perspectives*, ed. by Birger Vanwesenbeeck and Mark H. Gelber (Rochester, NY: Camden House: 2014), p. 105.

previously highlighted limitations no longer exist in his biographical writing. Rather, his essays on manuscripts should form a core part of his studied oeuvre so his problematic approach to historical personalities and creativity may be complicated and enriched.

These limitations in Zweig's approach do also appear in the manuscript essays. In the fugitive experience of a fragment in particular, the entirety of the process is lost and only a brief creative moment is distilled. Zweig relies on the idea of the 'moment' of creation and it sits in tension with the idea of process, which is precisely a return to 'duration'. For Zweig, manuscripts reveal 'Lebensspuren, Blitzlichter bestimmten Augenblicks';¹⁸⁴ they materialize 'unmittelbar den schöpferischen Augenblick eines Werkes';¹⁸⁵ and the experience is 'dieses sinnliche Mitleben heroischer Augenblicke'.¹⁸⁶ Zweig's depiction of moments appears across his work but is central to *Sternstunden der Menschheit*, his collection *momentous* historical events. His short sketches represent a fatalistic history through turning-points to the neglect of systemic and long-term developments. Görner calls this 'Zweigs Interesse am lebens- und geschichtsentscheidenden Augenblick, am Plötzlichen, für das die Sternstunden der Menschheit stehen, punktierende Momente im Rhythmus der Zeiten'.¹⁸⁷ Zweig's historiographical tendency also emerges in his creative concept, which balances the moment of inspiration with process.

When Zweig experiences Beethoven's manuscripts, he focuses on a description of inspiration in tension with process:

Mit diesen hastigen Zeilen war gewissermaßen der Ureinfall kristallisiert, blitzhaft und heiß wie er war, und wir erleben auf einen solchen Blatt das Wunder, daß, wie durch eine Röntgenphotographie das sonst unsichtbare Skelett des Menschen, hier durch Magie des Autographs der sonst unsichtbare Augenblick der Inspiration plötzlich sichtbar wird.¹⁸⁸

The creative idea is *crystallized* and the lightning strike of inspiration is paralleled in the reader's perception of the manuscript, as it is compared to an x-ray photograph, a *still* image that renders what lies beneath, the moment of inspiration, *suddenly* visible. Beneath the document, the image of a skeleton represents that inspiration. Whereas Zweig so often evokes the fleshly, bodily and dynamic, he points here to a symbol of a dead body, and that in a flat, still, colourless medium. The manuscript at times becomes a *Schriftdenkmal*, revealing the flash of an idea, and

¹⁸⁴ Zweig, 'Die Welt der Autographen', p. 105.

¹⁸⁵ Zweig, 'Handschriften als schöpferische Dokumente', p. 117.

¹⁸⁶ Zweig, 'Die Welt der Autographen', p. 106.

¹⁸⁷ Görner, *Formen einer Sprachkunst*, p. 76.

¹⁸⁸ Zweig, 'Sinn und Schönheit', p. 138.

Zweig's dynamic and sensory reading experiences are also held in tension by an impulse to *capture* moments of creation, notably using the analogy of a detective searching for a criminal in 'Das Geheimnis des künstlerischen Schaffens'.

Zweig's insistence on *Ehrfurcht* before encountering a manuscript contributes to the contrasting sense of stasis in his reading experience. While the result of such a disposition can be openness towards the material object and a pre-hermeneutic relation to manuscripts, the idea of being awestruck *before* the encounter reduces the potential of that encounter and requires a certain pre-construction of the experience. Zweig's *Ehrfurcht* is thus in contrast to what Mersch in his discussion of aura terms 'die genannten Gefühle des Verwunderns (thaumaton) und des Schrecklichen (tremendum)'.¹⁸⁹ *Furcht*, with its aspects of anxiety and surprise, are absent from Zweig's essays, since the collector tempers surprise with the intense expectation of greatness. Mersch's description retains the sense of being awestruck and emphasizes the difference between unexpected *Furcht* and predetermined *Ehrfurcht*. He depicts the auratic experience not as a perception 'of something' but a perceiving event that leads to the presence of something 'strange and other'. It evokes 'ein Erscheinen, das sich der wahrnehmenden Intentionalität nicht fugt', or, in other words, it disturbs expectations and transfers signification to the level of the perceived object: 'Gewahrt wird dabei die Blöße eines Sich-Zeigens, das (sich) "gibt", ohne "als etwas" gegeben zu sein, das dennoch nirgends auszublenden ist'.¹⁹⁰ The *Ehrfurcht* that informs Zweig's manuscript experience is based on a pre-formed love of the *creator*, while the experience itself animates an interaction with *creation*. Zweig's and Mersch's aura concepts both produce an openness to secret, but their foundations are *Ehrfurcht* and *Furcht* respectively. By pre-constructing the awestruck disposition, Zweig's secret is pre-established and then re-animated in an experience that is always a process of 'das Unbegreifliche zu begreifen'. Zweig's manuscript experience is therefore a closed, circular process, informed by expectations. In contrast, Mersch's *Furcht* resists 'wahrnehmende Intentionalität' leaving the perceiver open to an encounter with a 'strange and other' presence. Zweig's experience might then become a repeat encounter with an almost *familiar* secret.

Through the concepts of awe and secret, Zweig renders the inexplicability of what he experiences. Earlier, this inexplicability was discussed in terms of a pre-hermeneutic and ontological approach to the literary object. For Zweig, inexplicability also relates to mystery and

¹⁸⁹ Mersch, *Ereignis und Aura*, p. 28.

¹⁹⁰ Mersch, *Ereignis und Aura*, p. 44.

magic, which often stand in for analysis: 'Ich glaube, diese Macht der Autographen liegt in einer verbindenden, beschwörenden Magie, in jenem uralten kultischen Gefühl [...]'.¹⁹¹ For Böhmer, in his critique of Goethe's collection, magic becomes a mask for an unwillingness to offer interpretation:

Denn Magie hat stets die Funktion, unbestimmte, unkontrollierbare und übermenschliche Mächte mit dem Anschein der begrifflichen 'Erklärung' intransparent zu belassen [...] Wo die Welt magisch aufgefasst wird, da wird Rationalität suspendiert und zu Gunsten eines vermeintlich 'wahren' Wirkprinzips, das jedoch immer unerkannt bleibt, diskreditiert [...] Frei nach dem berühmten Ausspruch Hans Blumenbergs zum Mythos beantwortet Magie keine Fragen, sondern sorgt dafür, dass keine Fragen gestellt werden. Mit Magie ist Goethe also ein Begriff zuhanden, der ihn von der 'Pflicht', Begriffe zu finden, entbindet.¹⁹²

The suspension of rational analysis is precisely the key to the pre-hermeneutic and object-focused experience of the literary ontology. From this perspective, manuscripts are the privileged site for a less meaning-driven and more contingent and uncertain experience of text. On the one hand, Zweig's use of magic works with his materialist approach to represent that uncertainty and resistance to fixing the manuscript experience in ready-made concepts. However, the invocation of magic also detracts from the material and present aspects of the object, as it points beyond the temporal to the timeless, to a more mystical and less tangible realm of creation. Notions of magic and secret therefore also serve to 'deny duration', in Bushell's formulation.

Expanding the frame of literary work to consider its composition, the decisions involved in that composition and the hidden possibilities of the *devenir-texte* accents the temporal dimension in the study of the literature. Zweig's consistent insight into the genesis, process and production of a text shifts the collector away from many of his collecting predecessors and contemporaries. For him, manuscripts were more than mere surrogates of greatness but carriers of text [*Textträger*] with traces to be read, felt [*spüren*] and experienced. That concentration on the traces of creative process is in tension with Zweig's insistence on the atemporal, on the moment of inspiration. Posited as an ideal moment, the origin of creation resides then not wholly in the textual material but also in something inexplicable, which is associated with the moment. As Mayer has it in a succinct comparison with Rilke: 'Rilke widmete

¹⁹¹ Zweig, 'Die Welt der Autographen', p. 104.

¹⁹² Böhmer, pp. 108-09.

sich in der Rodin-Monografie dem Prozess der Verwandlung, während für Zweig vor allem die Sichtbarkeit der uneinsehbaren Kreativität im Mittelpunkt stand'.¹⁹³ For Rilke, Rodin's secret simply is the process of creation, for Zweig, Rodin's creative process leads to a secret beyond it.

No matter the differences between manuscripts, Zweig's essays appear to point to a single unifying secret of creation, undercutting the singularity of each experience and object. Genetic critics speak of their practice as 'tak[ing] the form of a perpetual reworking of the past as a function of current events',¹⁹⁴ or as William Kindermann and Joseph E. Jones have it: 'The goal is not simply to reconstruct the past, but to utilize source studies as a focus and springboard to new insights into the present'.¹⁹⁵ Zweig's *Handschriftenkunde*, in spite of its many experiential insights into textual materiality, cannot be so easily reconciled with the same ethic of reconstructing the past for the present. While Vedder sees Zweig's approach to manuscripts as part of his tendency towards *Vergegenwärtigung*, the suggestion ignores Zweig's circularity and fixity. Zweig does not exactly *make* these manuscripts *present* in the sense of these genetic critics, rather he transports us to the present of the manuscript's writing, deliberately without advancing literary critical conclusions.

The reading experience that Zweig describes in these essays is novel and anticipates modern materialist approaches to manuscripts and drafts. It animates process and trace, bringing to the fore the ontological aspects of the literary text. Moreover, it indicates the contingency and precarity of creation, being alive to sense making as a collaboration between text and reader: 'jeder wahre Genuss ist kein reines Empfangen, sondern ein inneres Mitwirken an dem Werke'.¹⁹⁶ By setting 'Empathie vor Hermeneutik' and focusing on works-in-progress, Zweig therefore *opens* the text to 'die Deutungsvielfalt, die jedes anspruchsvolle Kunstwerk nicht nur ermöglicht, sondern erfordert'.¹⁹⁷ However, that openness remains on the level of pre-hermeneutic and is framed by a secret of creation that is always understood as incomprehensible – an incomprehensibility that is pre-acknowledged in the awestruck disposition. In other words, Zweig's openness to secret is tantamount to an openness to *impossibility*, while genetic critics and others proceed from an openness to *possibility*, whether that is the possibility to interpret, to order or, more fundamentally, to be surprised.

¹⁹³ Mayer, p. 665.

¹⁹⁴ Daniel Ferrer and Marlena G. Corcoran, 'Clementis' Cap: Retroaction and Persistence in the Genetic Process', *Yale French Studies*, 89 (1996), 223-236 (p. 235).

¹⁹⁵ Kindermann and Jones, p. 8.

¹⁹⁶ Zweig, 'Das Geheimnis', p. 369.

¹⁹⁷ Görner, "Dialog mit den Nerven", p. 41.

The process of reconstruction is multi-directional, as critics go backwards to go forwards anew. Zweig's process points backwards into the past, to a moment or fragment, without progressing from the awestruck encounter to affect the object with which he interacts. Zweig experiences the immediacy and dynamism of that past moment, while always on the cusp of *seizure* in a pre-constructed auratic space. This makes Zweig's manuscript essays brilliant *exemplifications* of the material magic of texts. They offer a disposition and language towards experiencing text, rather than strategies towards reworking them for current purposes. We might then speak again of Zweig's collecting practice as a 'retreat' into the past.

5 Refining the Collection

Following the discussion on the tensions in Zweig's experience of the manuscript encounter, the aim is to consider the tensions in his representation of the collection itself. While chapter 2 gave a brief history of the collection and chapter 3 contextualized collecting as fundamental to Zweig's wider creative practice, this chapter discusses the end of his collection. Zweig viewed the final phase of his collection as a period of refinement, which problematically glosses over the content and personalities that were lost. Questioning Zweig's own reflections in the *Die Welt von Gestern* allows for a more objective understanding of the processes of de-selection and continued collection in his final years.

In reconstructing the history of his collection, Zweig writes of three phases, or four if his post-dispersal estrangement from collection is counted as a stage: The first stage began 'dilettantisch' but was finally 'dank vieler Erfahrung, reichlicherer Mittel und eher noch gesteigerter Leidenschaft aus einem bloßen Nebeneinander in ein organisches Gebilde und, ich darf es wohl sagen, in ein wirkliches Kunstwerk verwandelt'. He continues, '[s]olche Blätter von allen großen Dichtern, Philosophen und Musikern, solche Korrekturen und somit Zeugen ihres Arbeitskampfes zu vereinigen, war die zweite, wissendere Epoche meines Autographensammelns'. This second phase is that of the expert and Zweig moves to talk of his practice becoming 'eine Art Wissenschaft', as he began to amass his vast collection of auction catalogues and material pertaining to manuscripts. In his rise to becoming an expert, '[e]s war für mich eine Lust, sie zusammenzujagen auf Auktionen, eine gern getane Mühe, sie aufzuspüren an den verstecktesten Stellen'.

The third phase Zweig delineates moves the collection beyond mere expansion.

Aber allmählich ging mein sammlerischer Ehrgeiz weiter. Es genügte mir nicht, eine bloße handschriftliche Galerie der Weltliteratur und Musik, einen Spiegel der tausend Arten schöpferischer Methoden zu haben; die bloße Erweiterung der Sammlung lockte mich nicht mehr, sondern was ich in den letzten zehn Jahren meines Sammelns vornahm, war eine ständige Veredelung. Hatte es mir zuerst genügt, von einem Dichter oder Musiker Blätter zu haben, die ihn in einem schöpferischen Momente zeigten, so ging allmählich mein Bemühen dahin, jeden darzustellen in seinem allerglücklichsten schöpferischen Moment, in dem seines höchsten Gelingens. Ich suchte also von einem Dichter nicht nur die Handschrift eines seiner Gedichte, sondern eines seiner schönsten Gedichte und womöglich eines jener Gedichte, das von der Minute an, da die Inspiration in Tinte oder Bleistift zum erstenmal irdischen Niederschlag fand, in alle Ewigkeit reicht. Ich wollte von den Unsterblichen – verwegene Anmaßung! – in der Reliquie ihrer Handschrift gerade das, was sie für die Welt unsterblich gemacht hat (WVG, pp. 373-74).

Throughout the description of the collection's development, Zweig maintains the underlying criterion of collecting 'Urschriften oder Fragmente von Werken, die mir zugleich Einblick in die Schaffensweise eines geliebten Meisters gewährten' (WVG, p. 372). In the last ten years of his collecting life, Zweig suggests he sought not simply the manuscripts of venerated writers and composers but the most significant manuscripts that showed the artist in the most heightened state of creation or creative struggle. He presents this as a switch from a process of expansion to one of *refinement* [*Veredelung*]. *Veredelung* has the sense of Anthea Bell's translation – refinement – but also retains here a sense of its root meaning, closer to ennoblement. This purification process, to elevate and refine, reveals more about the representation of the collection in the autobiography than it does about the reality of the collecting practice.

First, Zweig emphasizes his continued focus on corrected manuscripts, suggesting that the best examples of such documents contained a glimpse of what made 'the immortals' immortal. However, Matuschek writes: 'Von seinem anfänglichen Programm der Beschränkung auf korrigierte Manuskripte war Zweig zwischenseitlich abgewichen. [...] Wenn die Verlockung zu groß war, kaufte er selbstverständlich nicht nur korrigierte Manuskripte, sondern auch Reinschriften [...]' (M, p. 42). Zweig devotes most space in his reflection not to the mass of corrected drafts, but to the the most reliquary aspect of his collection, the 'Beethoven museum'.

Aber abgesehen von dem Jugendnotizbuch, dem Lied 'Der Kuß' und Fragmenten aus der Egmont-Musik gelang es mir, wenigstens einen Augenblick, den tragischsten seines Lebens, in einer Vollkommenheit optisch darzustellen, wie ihn kein Museum der Erde zu bieten vermag. Durch einen ersten Glücksfall konnte ich die ganzen noch übrigen Einrichtungsstücke seines Zimmers, die nach seinem Tode versteigert wurden und von Hofrat Breuning erworben worden waren, an mich bringen, den mächtigen Schreibtisch vor allem, in dessen Laden verborgen sich die beiden Bilder seiner Geliebten, der Gräfin Giulietta Guicciardi und der Gräfin Erdödy fanden, die Geldkassette, die er bis zum letzten Augenblick neben seinem Bette verwahrt, das kleine Schreibpult, auf dem er noch im Bett die letzten Kompositionen und Briefe niedergeschrieben, eine weiße Locke von seinem Haar, abgeschnitten an seinem Totenbett, die Einladung zum Leichenbegängnis, den letzten Wäschezettel, den er mit zitternder Hand geschrieben, das Dokument des Hausinventars bei der Versteigerung und die Subskription seiner sämtlichen Wiener Freunde für die mittellos zurückgelassene Köchin Sali. Und da dem richtigen Sammler der Zufall immer freundlich in die Hände spielt, hatte ich, kurz nachdem ich alle diese Dinge aus seinem Sterbezimmer erworben, Gelegenheit, noch die drei Zeichnungen von seinem Totenbett an mich zu bringen. [...] Und so hatte ich nun alles beisammen, was diesen letzten, denkwürdigen und wahrhaft unvergänglichen Augenblick in einer optischen Form bewahrte. (WVG, pp. 375-76)

These relics of Beethoven's last room are the last collection items mentioned in the autobiography and as the culmination of his description of his refinement process, these sentences strike an odd note. While Zweig notes that his Beethoven collection is not as complete as his Mozart or Goethe collections, precisely for the lack of a range of manuscript examples, he holds these relics as equal to manuscripts in the preservation 'in einer optischen Form' of one moment of Beethoven's life. Such a move is characteristic of the *refinement* process that is enacted in the actual writing of the autobiography, in which all manner of items are harmonized and reduced to distilling 'the sustained timelessness of genius'.¹⁹⁸ The specificity of the manuscript experience is secondary and subsequently flattened to the level of relic.

Second, Zweig's careful description of the collector's relationship to the collection reveals a deliberate distance from his items that sets him apart from the conventional collector.

¹⁹⁸ Botstein, p. 71.

In the final paragraphs of this passage in 'Sonnenuntergang', he presents his eventual disillusionment with the process of collection.

Daß ich mich nie als den Besitzer dieser Dinge empfand, sondern nur als ihren Bewahrer in der Zeit, war selbstverständlich. Nicht das Gefühl des Habens, des Für-mich-Habens lockte mich, sondern der Reiz des Vereinens, die Gestaltung einer Sammlung zum Kunstwerk. Ich war mir bewußt, mit dieser Sammlung etwas geschaffen zu haben, was als Gesamtheit des Überdauerns würdiger war als meine eigenen Werke. Trotz vielen Angeboten zögerte ich, einen Katalog zusammenzustellen, weil ich doch noch mitten im Bau und am Werke war und ungenügsam manche Namen und manche Stücke in den vollkommensten Formen noch entbehrte. Meine wohlerzogene Absicht war, diese einmalige Sammlung nach meinem Tode demjenigen Institut zu überlassen, das meine besondere Bedingung erfüllen würde, nämlich alljährlich eine bestimmte Summe auszusetzen, um die Sammlung weiterhin in meinem Sinne zu vervollständigen. So wäre sie nicht ein starres Ganzes geblieben, sondern lebendiger Organismus, fünfzig und hundert Jahre über mein eigenes Leben hinaus sich ergänzend und vervollständigend zu einer immer schöneren Ganzheit.

By rejecting the idea of ownership in favour of custodianship, Zweig shows how his notion of possession is almost more museal than personal. The value of the collection resides in the relations between the items and in the collection as artwork, rather than in the unifying collector figure. Zweig positions himself against Goethe in this regard, who once suggested, 'so liebe ich den Besitz, nicht der besessenen Sache'.¹⁹⁹ This opposition emerges in some critics' favour for Zweig's interest in things, rather than an interest in the prestige of ownership.²⁰⁰ At the same time, those critics do not question the implication of distance from items in custodianship in contrast to ownership. Possession is at the heart of every private collection and Zweig explicitly frames his relationship against it and is anomalous amongst collectors. Instead of focusing on the merits of custodianship, it is also possible to consider it as a *denial* of possession.

Benjamin, in contrast, makes the case for a concept of possession:

Glück des Sammlers, Glück des Privatmanns! Hinter niemandem hat man weniger gesucht und keiner befand sich wohler dabei als er, der in der Spitzwegmaske sein verrufenes Dasein weiterführen konnte. Denn in seinem Innern haben ja Geister,

¹⁹⁹ In Mecklenburg, p. 40.

²⁰⁰ See Böhmer, p. 108.

mindestens Geisterchen, sich angesiedelt, die es bewirken, daß für den Sammler, ich verstehe den rechten, den Sammler wie er sein soll, der Besitz das allertiefste Verhältnis ist, das man zu Dingen überhaupt haben kann: nicht daß sie in ihm lebendig wären, er selber ist es, der in ihnen wohnt. So habe ich eines seiner Gehäuse, dessen Bausteine Bücher sind, vor Ihnen aufgeführt und nun verschwindet er drinnen, wie recht und billig.²⁰¹

Benjamin's position derives from a fundamentally different understanding of possession. Zweig's operation draws attention to a natural order, previously ignored when the collection items were dispersed. The value of Zweig's process of *Vereinen* is therefore to push together what was already unified in their shared genius, what by nature *already* belonged to the artwork Zweig was creating. By abstracting himself from it, Zweig attempts to reduce his personality in the collection. In contrast, Benjamin highlights the importance of both *possession* and *personality*. For Benjamin, ownership 'is an interruption – not in the sense that the private owner takes objects out of circulation, but in the sense that he takes objects that *are* out of circulation and confronts cultural history with them'.²⁰² The contemporaries approach the collector figure from opposing positions. In seeing revolutionary potential in the figure of the collector who reverts to the everyday material objects of the past in order to break the linear grand narrative of cultural history, Benjamin necessarily personalizes collecting and carves a space outside of history in the form of de-contextualized objects. Zweig has no designs on interrupting history but attempts to locate a refined and aesthetic unity *behind* it. The less his modern personality impinges on that returned history, the more that cultural history can rest uncontaminated and uninterrupted.

Zweig's relationship to his collection in 1930s complicates the *Besitzer-Bewahrer* binary. The need to disperse his collection before leaving Austria introduced a commodity value to his items. Part of the refinement process involved investing in items that would securely retain value and this resulted in purchases of more international, musical and visual art material (M, 83-95). Describing the reasons for dispersing his collection to fellow collector, Gisela Selden-Goth, Zweig prioritizes the turmoil of his exile situation and indicates his weariness of collecting:

Für die Auflösung der Sammlung hatte ich eine Reihe von Gründen. Der erste liegt in der Umstellung meines Lebens. Hier in meinem Londoner Flat hätte ich nicht

²⁰¹ Benjamin, 'Ich packe meine Bibliothek aus', p. 396.

²⁰² Ackbar Abbas, 'Walter Benjamin's Collector: The Fate of Modern Experience', *New Literary History* 20 (1988), 217-237 (p. 231).

die Möglichkeit, die ganze Sammlung und schon gar die Katalogsammlung aufzustellen. Selbst für den Beethovenschreibtisch habe ich keinen Platz. Zum zweiten habe ich wirklich keine Zeit, um im alten Stile fortzusammeln, zum dritten scheint mir das literarhistorische Sammeln oder musikhistorische Sammeln im Sinne der Komplettheit nicht mehr gemäß. Was sind mir Hamann und Hölty, Dichter, die ich kaum gelesen habe und nie mehr lesen werde. So habe ich mich auf einige wenige Stücke beschränkt, zu denen ich ein wirklich innerliches und persönliches Verhältnis habe [...] Ferner kamen noch dazu Erwägungen, die mit den Jahren und aus den Jahren gewachsen sind, nämlich die Frage: was geschieht mit der Sammlung nach mir? Ursprünglich schwebte mir vor, da sich doch in irgend einem Museum zu vermachen gegen die Verpflichtung, sie weiter auszubauen. Aber die Lust, etwas einem deutschen Museum zu stiften oder deutschen Zwecken überhaupt, hat man einem gründlich genommen.²⁰³

Despite Zweig's frequent suggestion in correspondence of the 1930s that he had that he had lost all interest collecting, Matuschek qualifies this period of Zweig's collection by interpreting it as a continuous practice that changed tack, rather than one that abated altogether. Not only does Matuschek disprove the claim that there was no room for his collection in London, a collection that would fit on a single bookshelf, but he counters the idea that Zweig's desire for collecting had completely disappeared:

Sieht man seine Briefe auf Bemerkungen zu den Autographen durch, so schwanken die Aussagen oft innerhalb kürzester Zeit zwischen Erfolgsmeldungen von Auktionen und Sätzen wie 'Mit dem Sammeln ist es vorbei – man hat Mühe genug, sich selber zu sammeln und diese schwierige Zeit gelassen zu überstehen'. (M, p. 60)

For Matuschek, the greater impulse is to rid his collection of burdensome material, 'Hamann and Hölty', stand-ins for the unread and unimportant in his personal worldview. The critical juncture in Zweig's life did not therefore trigger the beginning of the end of the collection, rather it created the conditions for a new direction: an intensified strategy of refinement.

Not just works belonging to the German canon were deemed superfluous, but even some gifts from contemporaries and friends were deselected, mainly donated to the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem and the Theatersammlung der Nationalbibliothek

²⁰³ Zweig to Gisela Selden-Goth, 18 April 1936: B IV, p. 159.

in Vienna. The gifts to Jerusalem comprised both manuscripts and correspondence of Jewish figures, including Alfred Döblin, Martin Buber, Karl Emil Franzos, and Max Reinhardt.²⁰⁴ The gifts to Vienna included drafts and fragments by Franz Kafka, Thomas, Heinrich and Klaus Mann, Romain Rolland, Franz Werfel, Joseph Roth, Arthur Schnitzler and Jules Romains.²⁰⁵ On the one hand, the donations are selective and appropriate for their destination. On the other hand, the donation of a tranche of items so representative of Zweig's own lifetime, his friendships, his Austrianness and his Jewishness, poses more questions for a collection that was never in need of total dismantlement. The tax benefits of donating to the Theatermuseum should not be underestimated and certainly played a part in the initial idea to select items appropriate to leave to his home country.²⁰⁶ Yet, Matuschek adds that excising such personally symbolic items from the collection had nothing to do with a lack of estimation for his peers, but was a sign that Zweig wanted 'ein Stück Distanz zum bisherigen Leben zu gewinnen' (M, p. 60). The combination of a refinement towards items of financial value and a refinement towards the most sublime creative fragments, amidst the demands of exile and donation, the collection became something wholly different, something that was less 'Spiegel und Bildnis meiner Lebensneigungen' and more a representation of a universal timelessness, a 'geschlossene Abkürzung des Universums'.

Signs of gifts from friends and contemporaries of course abound among the items Zweig left and figures represented include Romain Rolland, Emile Verhaeren, Rainer Maria Rilke, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Sigmund Freud, André Gide, Georges Duhamel, and Hermann Hesse. They are outweighed by canonical figures such as Goethe, Hölderlin, Kleist, Nietzsche, Balzac, Beethoven, Mozart, and Wagner. Exile triggered this rethinking towards refinement and thus 1934 is both the decisive year of departure from Austria and the point at which the collection required its own 'Stück Distanz zum bisherigen Leben'. The disdain for German institutions at which Zweig hinted in his letter to Selden-Goth complemented his growing discomfort in the German language that was being manipulated and stigmatized. That distance from the German language was replicated in the collection as refinement towards the universal made German literary manuscripts a lesser priority in the new schema.

The move away from the German, Austrian and Jewish aspects is highlighted by a feature of the present collection. Zweig's two final German-language literary manuscripts acquired for and retained in the collection serve to punctuate the transitional point between

²⁰⁴ See Mordechai Nadav, 'Stefan Zweig's Übersendung seiner Privatkorrespondenz an die Jewish National and University Library', *Bulletin des Leo-Baeck-Instituts*, 63 (1982), 66-73.

²⁰⁵ See Mühlegger-Henhapel; also *Geheimnis der Schöpfung: die Autographensammlung Stefan Zweigs im Österreichischen Theatermuseum*, ed. by Oskar Pausch (Vienna: Böhlau, 1995).

²⁰⁶ Mühlegger-Henhapel, p. 219.

the original and refined collections, between the Austrian and exiled situations. In 1932, Zweig purchased a manuscript of Hitler's notes towards a speech on foreign policy.²⁰⁷ Unknown to any of his close friends, this acquisition both represented a collecting triumph in terms of rarity and incited in Zweig a fear of exposure, so he left it a secret. It was impossible to reveal this purchase to a wider public and thus it would never form part of the sales. In 1933, Zweig received a donation to his collection from his friend Hermann Hesse of a typescript anthology of poems, *Sommer 1933*, especially designed as a gift by the author, and containing numerous watercolours.²⁰⁸ The two items physically sit side-by-side in the British Library's collection and they were also the last two German-language literary acquisitions to remain in the collection. There is no greater contrast within the collection than that between the definitions of land and earth in the delicate poems and landscape paintings of Hesse's decorative volume, and the hostile evocations of land, blood and earth in Hitler's hurried political sketch.

In the form of these Hitler notes, the collection incorporates the very figure that precipitated the dispersal and exile of the collection itself. The item is an insistent presence of the collection's embedded history. Its inclusion takes the place of hundreds of fragments of other German, Austrian, Jewish friends and contemporaries, sold and donated to give distance from a former life. In this way, Zweig removes much of the personality and context from a collection that was once 'Spiegel und Bildnis meiner Lebensneigungen' in a process of refinement that continues through the exile years. Bereft of this material, the collection becomes less than a true reflection of the compiler's life. At the same time, the very evident absence of these items may be the truest reflection of a collector whose disaffection with contemporary European society led to more ideal collecting criteria as a form of self-abstraction from what Zweig felt was already lost to him.

The memoirs' final comment on the manuscript collection emphasizes the precise juncture of Hitler's rise to power and its decisive impact on Zweig's practice:

Aber unserer geprüften Generation ist es versagt, über sich hinaus zu denken. Als die Zeit Hitlers einsetzte und ich mein Haus verließ, war die Freude an meinem Sammeln dahin und auch die Sicherheit, irgend etwas bleibend zu erhalten. Eine Zeitlang ließ ich noch Teile in Safes und bei Freunden, aber dann entschloß ich mich, gemäß Goethes mahnendem Wort, daß Museen, Sammlungen und Rüstkammern, wenn man sie nicht fortentwickle, in sich erstarren, lieber Abschied

²⁰⁷ London, British Library Stefan Zweig Collection, Zweig MS 158.

²⁰⁸ London, British Library Stefan Zweig Collection, Zweig MS 157.

zu nehmen von einer Sammlung, der ich meine gestaltende Mühe weiter nicht mehr geben konnte. Einen Teil schenkte ich zum Abschied der Wiener Nationalbibliothek, hauptsächlich jene Stücke, die ich selbst von zeitgenössischen Freunden zum Geschenk erhalten, einen Teil veräußerte ich, und was mit dem Rest geschah oder geschieht, beschwert meine Gedanken nicht sehr. Immer war nur das Schaffen meine Freude, nie das Geschaffene. So klage ich dem einst Besessenen nicht nach. Denn wenn wir Gejagten und Vertriebenen in diesen Zeiten, die jeder Kunst und jeder Sammlung feind sind, eine Kunst noch neu zu lernen hatten, so war es die des Abschiednehmens von allem, was einstens unser Stolz und unsere Liebe gewesen. (WVG, p. 377-78)

This passage makes no suggestion of his continued collecting, which was nonetheless conducted without the same passion. Matuschek even refers to moments of renewed enthusiasm towards collecting during his time in Bath, a time when Zweig also took care to bind some of his most precious items (M, p. 80). Zweig writes these lines in New York, where he had taken some of the items from which he could not part, namely Schubert's *An die Musik* and Mozart's *Das Veilchen*.²⁰⁹ The somewhat disingenuous presentation of taking leave of his collection and a former life in the memoirs is best understood as describing a shift in passion and a shift in the collector's relation to his items. He draws attention to his lack of creative energy ('gestaltende Mühe') towards his artwork, giving a particular emphasis to the line, '[i]mmer war nur das Schaffen meine Freude, nie das Geschaffene'. With the forced change of circumstances and the impossibility of the same creative approach to gathering a collection, Zweig can no longer collect for the same motivations. If he cannot creatively participate in shaping the collection as artwork, the collection ceases to exist in the same way. Vedder highlights the dual significance of the figure of the 'Besessene' in this passage, which refers to not only the once possessed items but also the once *possessed* collector.²¹⁰ Zweig therefore emphasizes the shift in his position towards the collection, no longer within it and possessed by it, now at one remove from it. He may own items ('das Geschaffene') but his passion was always their gathering ('das Schaffen'), a practice that has irrevocably changed.

That said, the memoirist employs a rhetorical refinement to portray his exile as an 'Abschiednehmen von allem' when there are continuities and resurgences of passion throughout the exile years. The final mention of the collection coincides with the

²⁰⁹ London, British Library Stefan Zweig Collection, Zweig MS 81 and Zweig MS 56 respectively.

²¹⁰ Vedder, p. 142-43.

‘Sonnenuntergang’ and the transition to ‘Incipit Hitler’. The collection forms part of a past life that is neatly cut off from the life in exile, what Zweig calls his ‘third life’. The reflections therefore avoid the awkwardness of the remaining collection that was purposefully refined and meticulously preserved in Bath. The auctions and donations, triggered though they were by uncontrollable events, allowed Zweig to re-shape, refine and render the balance of the collection more ideal (and less contemporary). That the memoirist situates that refinement before the exile period undermines the continuation of that process throughout that time and precisely *through dispersal* and sale. The coherence of a collecting narrative that ends at the same time as his life on continental Europe serves to mask the complicated nature of his continued practice, the active decisions in the sale and donation process, and the actual balance of the extant collection. Doing away with personal, contemporary, German-language items (Joseph Roth, Thomas Mann, Max Brod, Karl Emil Franzos) in favour of international items of established cultural and financial value (Balzac, Franklin, nineteenth-century music), Zweig unavoidably transforms the collection. The representation of that transformation avoids the notion of *creative* agency in the dismantlement of the collection, a collection that continued to be shaped until the end of 1941.

The present collection poses the question as to what extent it remains that ‘mirror and portrait’ of its collector. The result of its dismantlement and reshaping under a set of criteria that favoured timelessness above the contemporary, and the sublime above the personal, is at once an enactment of Zweig’s self-distancing from a Heimat he no longer recognized, and an ideal reconstruction of a life without its grounded everyday detail and personality.

6 An Ethics of Remembrance

This section has attempted a reading of Zweig’s practice of collecting and his approach to experiencing manuscripts, as well as how these activities are represented and reshaped in the memoirs. An ethics lies at the foundation of these related activities, made explicit in Zweig’s notion of ‘die moralische Lehre’: ‘daß die Werke, die wir als vollendete bewundern, nicht bloß gütige Geschenke des Genius an den Künstler waren, sondern Frucht mühsamer, strenger, aufopfernder Arbeit’.²¹¹ The moral lesson comes out of the dual aspect of Zweig’s approach to

²¹¹ Zweig, ‘Sinn und Schönheit’, p. 139.

manuscripts, in the negotiation of inspiration and work [*Arbeit*] through material trace. The bringing together of magic and matter in the experience of manuscripts draws Zweig closer, and further away, from an authorial presence, and absence, in an auratic encounter. In other words, the moral lesson articulates both a disposition towards work and the creative process, as it does towards an author-figure, with all the attendant problems and restrictions in this tendency. It is in fact this reliance on the physicality of the author, in their craft and struggle towards creation, from which the 'moral lesson' and the ethics of Zweig's practice and approach emerges.

The encounter with manuscripts presents a similar situation to the practice of collecting itself. The creation of a world of manuscripts representative of a universe of cultural accomplishments sits alongside the avowed goal of gathering the most sublime set of insights into the creative process and imagination. The collection becomes a preservation of momentary insights as well as the detritus of aberrations, deviations, revisions, and the sheer mess of material working. The latter transforms into the former through the awestruck disposition, which enables us to reach backwards to the present of a manuscript's inscription even if that is only ever a 'Nacherleben' and never a 'Miterleben':

Wir müssen also bei unserer Untersuchung äußerste Ehrfurcht wahren und uns immer bewusst sein, dass die eigentliche Tat in einem Raum geschieht, der uns nicht zugänglich ist und dass wir mit dem äußersten Aufwand von Phantasie und Logik doch nur ein Schattenbild dieses Prozesses und vergegenwärtigen können, aber immerhin ein Bild. Da es uns nicht erlaubt ist, mit dem Künstler den Augenblick seiner Schöpfung mitzuerleben, können wir einzig versuchen, ihn nachzuerleben.²¹²

Görner picks up on this distinction, situating the impulse to relive at the centre of Zweig's creative concept and, ultimately, *Die Welt von Gestern*:

Zweig behauptet nichts weniger, als dass im Nacherleben des bedeutenden Schaffensaktes das eigentliche Erleben (in seiner oder unserer Zeit) liege. Nur auf diese Fähigkeit könne man noch hoffen. Das ist die Grundstimmung, die auch *Die Welt von Gestern* tragen wird. Die Zeit des großen Schaffens ist vorüber, was bleibt, ist das Nachempfinden. Das wiederum begründet den hohen Stellenwert, den Zweig der Erinnerung einräumt – und dies nicht erst in seinem Spätwerk.²¹³

²¹² Zweig, 'Das Geheimnis', p. 352.

²¹³ Rüdiger Görner, 'Das Schöpferische', in HB, pp. 657-61 (p. 660).

The collection, if not all of Zweig's creative activity, is cast here as a constant return to the heights of past achievement. The pessimistic cultural and social context prohibits the thinking of new productivity, forcing the direction of thought backwards. That past is the most sublime moments of creation in his collection, refined increasingly towards an ideal composition of historical legends and away from his everyday context. That past is what he calls 'das goldene Zeitalter der Sicherheit' in his memoirs, an autobiography which also truncates the relevant history of the collection to precisely before 'Incipit Hitler'.

The impulse backwards renders Zweig's practice an insistence on exemplifying the inexplicable, rather than a consistent engagement with the stuff of the present, including the stuff of his collection. For all the novel focus on the materiality of manuscripts, Zweig's ethics remains in part an ethics of remembrance, and ethics of reliving, which allows scant opportunity for reworking present understanding. A different ethics offers itself in tension to Zweig's both on the level of collecting and of experiencing manuscripts. An ethics of possibility and renewal might be invoked through the modern collector's creative shaping of history through material objects. Benjamin's understanding that the most significant facet of an object was its possession allows for an ever-changing interpretation of what lies in the hands of the collector. Objects abstracted from conventional historical contexts take on new significance in the collector's *response*. Abbas introduces the concept of 'responsibility' that links Benjamin's ideas of storytelling and collecting:

Unlike information, storytelling is a responsible mode of discourse in that it can proceed in response to the listeners' questions. It has an improvisatory air. The relation of storyteller to story is not one of mastery. Similarly, the collector responds to objects and in this way opens them up to interpretation. Objects acquire a history and become the material means by which the history is passed on.²¹⁴

In this interpretation, responsibility to the object is not a matter of retaining the object integrity in its original and authentic context. Rather, it involves a 'destructive character' in the collector, or the potential for objects to be unmade and rethought. In Benjamin's words, 'Einige überliefern die Dinge, indem sie sie unantastbar machen und konservieren, andere die Situationen, indem sie sie handlich machen und liquidieren'.²¹⁵ Responsibility thus becomes an

²¹⁴ Abbas, p. 233.

²¹⁵ Benjamin, 'Der destruktive Charakter', in Benjamin, *Gesammelte Schriften*, IV: *Kleine Prosa. Baudelaire-Übertragungen*, pp. 396-98 (p. 398)

approach in which the collector is in active interpretive engagement with the materiality and history of what is in their possession. Responsibility demands a response as an element of possession.

This responsibility towards the material object in the hands of the collector can be thought alongside responsibility in the experience of literature and manuscripts. Responsibility has acquired a long theoretical history thanks to the philosophy of Emmanuel Lévinas and Jacques Derrida. In this lineage, Attridge articulates an ethics of reading responsibly in a study of the 'singularity of literature':

Doing justice to a work is to trust in the unpredictability of reading, its openness to the future [...] the ethics of literary reading is less a matter of the exercise of a certain kind of effort on each reading than a disposition, a habit, a way of being in the world of words. [...] The ethical demand of literature is in what makes literature – its staging of the fundamental processes whereby language works upon us and upon the world. The literary work demands a reading that does justice to the formal elaboration of these processes, a reading in the sense of a performance, a putting-into-action or putting-into-play that involves both active engagement and a letting-go, a hospitable embrace of the other.²¹⁶

Zweig's *Ehrfurcht* is comparable to 'a disposition, a way of being in the world of words'. Zweig also expresses a certain responsibility, in his case to the collection as a refinement of the most sublime examples of creativity in literary and musical history. Yet, that responsibility is not of the possessor but of the custodian, not the *Besitzer* but the *Bewahrer*. In other words, Zweig's custodianship works to draw attention to an already existing sublime order, an ideal realm and the secret of artistic creation. His disposition becomes more of a 'letting-go' than an 'active engagement', to use Attridge's terminology, and that preparedness for the manuscript encounter might be closer to a *lack* of 'trust in the unpredictability of reading, its openness to the future'.

This tension between an ethics of remembrance and an ethics of possibility is the difference between a retrospective and prospective approach to literary experience. It is a difference captured in the ideas of 'Nacherleben' and 'Miterleben', where the one refers to a re-living of the past, implying an escape from the present, and the other to living with it, implying continued engagement. The impulse towards *Vergegenwärtigung* becomes more a departure

²¹⁶ Derek Attridge, *The Singularity of Literature* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 130.

to the present of past literary creativity and less a rendering of that literary creativity instrumental to present and future interpretation. Benjamin, again, articulates an understanding of *Vergegenwärtigung* in contrast to retrospective retreat:

Die wahre Methode, die Dinge sich gegenwärtig zu machen, ist, sie in unsere(m) Raum (nicht uns in ihrem) vorzustellen. (So tut der Sammler, so auch die Anekdote.) Die Dinge, so vorgesteilt, dulden keine vermittelnde Konstruktion aus »großen Zusammenhängen«. Es ist auch der Anblick großer vergangener Dinge - Kathedrale von Chartres, Tempel von Pästum - in Wahrheit (wenn er nämlich glückt) ein: sie in unserm Raum empfangen. Nicht wir versetzen uns in sie, sie treten in unser Leben..²¹⁷

This tension is inherent in the *return* to material culture. Reinserting process in literature pulls at the seams of immanent textual criticism and unworks any notion of complete and final texts by focusing on the stuff of composition. In so doing, such approaches introduce temporality back into production and open a space for authorial origin as part of a contingent and variable material process. Process can never wholly escape teleology and the ideas and intentions beyond the material document. What Zweig finds in the materiality of manuscripts is both the sheer work and workings of creative process and, as a result, the auratic inexplicability of authorial inspiration, 'Inspiration *plus* Arbeit'. Zweig's thoughts therefore evoke both the dynamism of process and the stasis of seizure before genius, both the movement and duration of infinite revision and the x-ray flash of the inspired moment.

A similar tension is at work in the collection itself. The opposition *Besitzer-Bewahrer* is interpreted by Zweig as the difference between a collector motivated by prestige and ownership and a collector always in search of groupings and examples of higher ideals. The owner-collector hoards and compiles without central motivation, while the custodian-collector never owns but draws attention to the affinities between creative works. However, the owner-collector might, as Benjamin suggests, carve open a different future through the extraction of objects from idealized contexts. Such a view renders the custodian-collector a passive acceptor of such contexts, only able to repeatedly indicate and exemplify an unchanging history. The collection becomes a store of memory to *relive* (not to enliven), rather than a store of creativity to *live with*. The question remains: to what extent does Zweig's writing on his collection display a responsibility to the objects in the collection and to what extent is it responsible towards a greater ideal, a service to cultural memory, to which each object ultimately contributes in the

²¹⁷ Benjamin, *Das Passagen-Werk* [H 2, 3], p. 273.

same capacity? In other words, does Zweig articulate a ‘language of things’²¹⁸ or the grand narrative of cultural history? The collection orders a tangential world above the chaos and insecurity of the lived world. Zweig’s articulation of his collection items yet evokes the very chaos and indeterminacy of writing and anticipates a theoretical return to materiality. Yet, Zweig’s encounter with material evokes the tension between a manifestation of an ideal continuity and processual contingency. In Attridge’s terms, it is questionable whether Zweig’s approach does ‘justice to the formal elaboration of these processes’.

An idea of responsibility is carried into the next section of this thesis, which considers Zweig’s eulogies, another form of shaping cultural memory. Collecting and eulogizing are fundamental memory practices, responsible for preserving experience. In the words of Thomas Browne, collecting is also concerned with death as it derives from ‘this fear of the “necessity of oblivion”’.²¹⁹ The threat of oblivion leads towards striving for permanence. The atmosphere of death and decay in twentieth-century Europe, alongside alienation of modernity, elicits a counter-response in the form of lauding cultural immortality. Zweig’s collection carries this impulse to preserve for posterity and its ever-idealizing refinement procedure gradually voided the collection of the contemporary and the personal, in favour of the sublime and already immortal. In its increasing retrospection towards cultural highpoints, this refinement suspends the collection in a different, ideal age. The incorporation of a Hitler manuscript symbolizes that reversal and retreat backwards in time towards a different world. Every collection is a recollection and a gesture towards posterity and legacy. Every collection therefore harbours its own end, the ‘necessity of oblivion’. And ‘[e]very collection is a constant reminder of the very reality it has been created to stave off’.²²⁰ Zweig’s collection indicates its threats everywhere, its collector’s precarity and mortality and its own, a negotiation that reappears in the writing of eulogies.

²¹⁸ See Walter Benjamin, ‘Über Sprache überhaupt und über die Sprache des Menschen’, in Benjamin, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 2: *Aufsätze, Essays, Vorträge*, pp. 140-56; see also Jae Emerling, ‘The Gesture of Collecting: Walter Benjamin and Contemporary Aesthetics’ (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 2007), pp. 1-33.

²¹⁹ In Blom, p. 189.

²²⁰ Ibid., p. 228.

Section 2: The Eulogist

*Nichts vom Vergänglichen,
Wie's auch geschah!
Uns zu verewigen
Sind wir ja da.*

Goethe

7 Eulogy as a Distinct Genre

There has been little critical consideration of Zweig's eulogies as a distinct set of writings, predominantly because, like the manuscript essays, they have been thought of in the same light as his *Dichterporträts*, reviews, introductions, or short biographies. In representing the life, work and legacy of a creative figure, such portraits may fulfil the same purpose as the eulogies. The mode of enthusiastic and uncritical veneration is undoubtedly shared across these genres. And, finally, all such texts 'seem to be intimately related' precisely because 'they help shed light on the question of Stefan Zweig's attempt to understand, depict, and integrate death in his writings, as a trope for his own process of coming to terms with it'.²²¹

Such conflation denies the specificity of the eulogy. In Gelber's words, '[t]he plain fact of death renders the purpose and ultimate significance of the eulogy other than the general "Würdigung"'.²²² Indeed, Zweig's mediation of cultural production across Europe might be said to reach its rhetorical height in the eulogy, a space where Zweig's naturally uncritical and unqualified affirmation was most appropriate if not necessary. Gelber reads this rhetorical freedom as a chance 'to record the flowering, but also the decline and death of a tradition of European humanism through the Austrian example', emphasising the celebratory aspect of the texts more than the accompanying loss. His point is twofold: that Zweig's eulogies display 'the expression of his ultimate allegiances to Austria, as a spiritual and cultural homeland',²²³ and also that they do not dwell on death and loss, but rather 'transform[] life impulses into literary

²²¹ Mark H. Gelber, 'Stefan Zweig as (Austrian) Eulogist', in *Stefan Zweig Reconsidered* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2007), pp. 151-162 (p. 152).

²²² *Ibid.*, p. 153.

²²³ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

productivity at the moment of death'.²²⁴ Zweig is turned from thanatologist²²⁵ into the embodiment of life impulses, contributing to the resurrection, resuscitation and immortalisation of the deceased. The dominance of Austrian figures in the list of the eulogized is the basis of Gelber's first point.

The second point needs further discussion. Counteracting one overly-emphasized tendency in Zweig scholarship (the thanatological) with its opposite (the pleasure principle) retains the homogeneous understanding of the genre and does little to interpret the nuances of texts that depend on their specific context. This section will look closer at the texts themselves to show how enthusiasm and lament are closer entwined, how the rhetorical strategies of both are often in tension, and how the particular literary contexts of the eulogies (as feuilleton pieces, presentations, funeral orations) pose questions about the purpose and shape of these texts. Further, it will position the eulogies amongst Zweig's biographical work and the development of his writing throughout his active life, such that the genre was a continuous fixture in his oeuvre. Ultimately, closer analysis shows how Zweig's rhetorical strategies often create ambiguities and how that sense of 'productivity', in Gelber's words, is undercut by the very words that perform it. Finally, the analysis is aided by a theoretical context that is missing from other reflections on Zweig's eulogies. The aesthetic aspect of eulogies is necessarily informed by the social aspect – a eulogy's purpose and the relation of eulogy to ritual – and by the psychological and philosophical aspects – the relation of eulogy to mourning and the ethical decisions around addressing the deceased.

Gelber's chapter explicitly focuses on Zweig as a eulogist and he points to the potential for further work on eulogy as a distinct genre.²²⁶ The recent *Zweig Handbuch* does not frame eulogy as a separate genre in its sub-section on 'Reden, Feuilletons, Aufsätze, Essays', nor does it consider the eulogistic mode under the rubric 'Systematische Aspekte', under which one finds other aesthetic and generic aspects such as 'Mythos', 'Das Schöpferische', 'Der künstlerische Prozess', 'Das Dämonische', 'Musik', and 'Bildende Kunst'. The *Handbuch* silently bands the genre amongst the other genres, the essay and *Dichterporträt*.

Scholars are also reticent to address death as a theme, stemming partly from the reductive tendency that links any of Zweig's reflections on death to the author's presumed thanatology. Fan Zhang's recent essay makes that precise link, presenting Zweig's continued

²²⁴ Ibid., p. 162.

²²⁵ See Harry Zohn, 'The Burning Secret of Stephen Branch, or a Cautionary Tale about a Physician who could not heal himself', in *The World of Yesterday's Humanist Today*, pp. 302-13.

²²⁶ Gelber, 'Stefan Zweig as (Austrian) Eulogist', p. 152.

engagement with death through an initial focus on *Der Kampf mit dem Dämon*, in which Zweig situates the deaths of Hölderlin, Kleist and Nietzsche as tragic consummations of their creative lives.²²⁷ Zhang ultimately suggests that Zweig used Kleist as a model for his own future suicide, committed in 1942 as an expression of freedom directly inspired by his reading of Montaigne.²²⁸ Such biographical reduction does not get at a theoretical understanding of death, nor does it situate Zweig's writing in a cultural context influenced by death, decay, war or subjective crisis.

Zhang's analysis of Zweig's reflections about death does not include eulogies but how else could they be considered, if not as reflections about death? Eulogies have been the subject of many critical studies of other authors and the subject of many theoretical works. Some of these works will be brought to bear on Zweig's eulogies in this chapter. Karl Kraus's dismantling of a tribute to Hugo Wittmann in 1923 interrogates the purposes and rhetoric of the era's eulogies as early as 1923.²²⁹ A recent study on the eulogies of the George-Kreis embeds the genre in the practice of that group of Zweig's contemporaries.²³⁰ Eulogy has consistently been in the view of critics and its absence from Zweig scholarship is all the more striking.

Finally, eulogies should be considered reflections on death and loss, an exercise tantamount to mourning. Zweig's eulogies can be considered alongside studies that find generic affinities between mourning and ritual, social, memorial ceremony, and alongside theories of mourning that interrogate articulations of loss and its ethical responsibility. This is not to abstract the eulogy completely from its contextual specificity. As the definitions below show, the following is first and foremost a close study of Zweig's writings on the occasion of deaths, which then allows for a consideration of Zweig's aesthetic mourning practice.

The term 'eulogy' will be used throughout this section to refer broadly to a public text, whether spoken or written, in praise of a recently deceased person. This distinguishes these texts from biographical essays on figures of the past and from *Erinnerungen* which are either separated in time from the death ('Errinerungen an Theodor Herzl') or are of a more private nature and therefore less affected by the demands of the occasion (*Erinnerungen an Emile*

²²⁷ Fan Zhang, 'Stefan Zweigs Reflexion über den Tod', in *Aktualität und Beliebtheit: Neue Forschung und Rezeption von Stefan Zweig im internationalen Blickwinkel* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2015), pp. 59-66.

²²⁸ Ibid., p. 61.

²²⁹ Karl Kraus, 'Leidtragende', *Die Fackel*, 13 (number 256) (1923), 3-7 <<http://corpus1.aac.ac.at/fackel/>> [accessed 8 May 2019]

²³⁰ Simon Reiser, *Totengedächtnis in den Kreisen um Stefan George: Formen und Funktionen eines ästhetischen Rituals* (Würzburg: Ergon, 2015).

Verhaeren).²³¹ This is not to elide the differences between the many terms for addressing a death, but to highlight the overlap and similarities between them.

The first difference to highlight would be that between a *funeral oration* and an address given or published away from the funeral. In English, eulogy may still be used for both contexts. The terminology inherited from classical rhetoric (lament, consolation), from religious contexts (dirge) or from form-specific etymologies (elegy, threnody, monody) can all be considered under the more general understanding of *eulogy*. In German, the range of terms is broader and the terms more specific. The distinction between funeral oration and published eulogy is often made, so that *Grabrede* or *Trauerrede* are employed to refer to the former and *Nachruf* and *Nekrolog* to the latter, but, as with the English term *eulogy*, *Nachruf* is also broadly used to describe the range of responses to a death.

The basic definition employed in this section then follows Goetz's understanding of the three elements of the *Nachruf*, which for current purposes is interchangeable with *eulogy*. Firstly, the formal and content-based criterion, referring to a spoken or written expression regarding the death of a person, which distinguishes eulogy from simply laudatory addresses (for those alive or dead) and from texts that take death as a broad theme. Second, the criterion of actuality, referring to the *recent* death of a person or group, where recent means the death is still present in the consciousness of the addresser. This criterion therefore aims to distinguish eulogy from texts with greater temporal and material distance from the subject, such as biographies and historical novels. Thirdly, the public criterion, referring to the text's direction towards a public, which separates eulogy from private expressions such as diary entries and which also underlines the fact that a eulogy is an aesthetically and socially constructed genre and is not to be merged with just any utterance on the subject of loss.²³² That said, this study will at times find cause to comment on Zweig's utterances around loss, which is arguably the central thrust of *Die Welt von Gestern*, if not his entire oeuvre.

²³¹ Stefan Zweig, 'Erringerungen an Theodor Herzl', *Pester Lloyd* (29 June 1929), first published 25 years after Herzl's death; Zweig, *Erinnerungen an Emile Verhaeren* (Vienna: Christoph Reißers Söhne, 1917) was printed privately in a first edition of 100 numbered and signed copies.

²³² Thomas Goetz, *Poetik des Nachrufs: Zur Kultur der Nekrologie und zur Nachrufszene auf dem Theater* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2008), p. 24.

8 The Contexts

8.1 Denying Death and Failing to Mourn

All eulogies, if not all literature, meditate not just on *a death* but inevitably on *death* itself. For Zweig's generation, death is not simply a consideration of mortality but is woven into a general sense of decline and loss, and is embedded intrinsically in aestheticist, impressionist or decadent approaches to the artwork, just as it attends every fugitive experience of the modern present. Therefore, whether we consider the eulogy as ultimately addressing 'dem Tabu-Thema Tod',²³³ or, whether we see death at the root of all literature, of which eulogy forms a part, the genre of eulogy cannot be interpreted apart from a broader understanding of the philosophical, psychological or aesthetic responses to death and its guises.

Bauman writes that 'death (more exactly, awareness of mortality) is the ultimate condition of cultural creativity as such' because 'it makes permanence into a task', a 'permanence and durability which life, by itself, sorely misses. [...] Without mortality, no history, no culture – no humanity'.²³⁴ Culture becomes a life strategy and thus a denial of death, what Becker calls 'a fabricated protest against natural reality, a denial of the truth of the human condition, and an attempt to forget the pathetic creature that man is'.²³⁵ Social processes enact this *disappearance* of death in the late nineteenth century: 'Death, so omnipresent in the past that it was familiar, would be effaced, would disappear. It would become shameful and forbidden'.²³⁶ Ariès depicts the birth of a modern subjectivity around 1800, with which came the problem of grief, the problem that ritual or theology were no longer the primary aspects of processing loss and that a new emotional sensibility became the prominent part of the inaugurated individuality. Society develops a 'hushing-up procedure'²³⁷ in response and death moved from the home to the hospital, ridding death of its ritual aspects as it was obscured from the domestic sphere and pragmatized in the medical sphere. This line of thought makes the case for culture as life strategy, through which death is surmounted and made to disappear.

²³³ Fritz J. Raddatz, 'Vorbemerkung', in *Deutsche Abschiede*, ed. by Gerhard Hay (Munich: Winkler, 1984), p. vi.

²³⁴ Zygmunt Bauman, *Mortality, Immortality and other Life Strategies* (Cambridge: Polity, 1992), pp. 4-7.

²³⁵ Ernest Becker, *The Denial of Death* (New York: Free Press, 1997), p. 33.

²³⁶ Philippe Ariès, *The Hour of our Death*, trans. by Helen Weaver (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983), p. 85.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

To focus on death's disappearance is, however, to neglect the existence of grief and mourning. Kowalik argues that cultural practices of grief before, and presumably after, this misdiagnosed explosion of emotion did not 'and cannot eliminate emotion. [...] What changes over time is the way in which emotions were felt or ignored, idealized or demonized, expressed or repressed, and so forth'.²³⁸ Kowalik cuts through the periodization of emotion and complicates the way emotions are manifested, felt, mediated, both individually and communally, across history. Therefore, death does not appear, disappear and reappear in relation to the cultural response to it. The most dramatized as well as the most removed responses to death still entail a form of grief, however mediated it is. The dramatic exhibition of grief on the one hand and the ritualization or mediation of grief on the other are not simply synonymous with the existence and non-existence of grief respectively. Instead, Kowalik argues that both are representative of 'a massive but silent problem in German cultural history: the problem of unresolved grief [...] *Die Unfähigkeit zu trauern*', which 'has never been investigated in any phase of German history except the post-1945 period'.²³⁹ Kowalik's history of grief demands a re-interpretation of historical periods in the light of this fundamental impossibility to mourn, and that we consider the relationship with death, that 'ultimate condition of cultural creativity', as a continuous and interminable process of coming to terms.

Kowalik's diagnosis of a failure to acknowledge feelings of loss could also serve the Viennese fin-de-siècle. The Viennese experience provides an intense context for thinking death and for the response to deaths in the forms of the eulogy. A modern subjectivity in mourning for its own loss is linked to a society in mourning for its decline and is everywhere attended by a continuous experience of actual material deaths. Mourning is both the latent preoccupation of a modern subject in existential crisis and the everyday practice of coming to terms with losses. Eulogies become an important record of the intellectual response to a fundamental condition, whether that response is an exhibition of emotion or a habituated formula serving a social, mediatory purpose. The occasion of death provides the context to interrogate the intrinsic connection to that fundamental mortality, or as Horn articulates it, 'Der Verlust des anderen *figuriert* jenen unnennbaren Verlust, die "Verlorenheit" der Melancholie'.²⁴⁰

²³⁸ Jill Anne Kowalik, *Theology and Dehumanization: Trauma, Grief, and Pathological Mourning in Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century German Thought and Literature*, ed. by Gail K. Hart (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2009), p. 24.

²³⁹ Ibid., pp. 27-28. The phrase 'die Unfähigkeit zu trauern' comes from Alexander and Margarete Mitscherlich's study, *Die Unfähigkeit zu trauern. Grundlagen kollektiven Verhaltens* (Munich: Piper, 1967).

²⁴⁰ Eva Horn, *Trauer schreiben: Die Toten im Text der Goethezeit* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1998), p. 33.

All mourning-work, including eulogies, involve *figuring* what is lost in some form of representation, what Derrida calls the attempt to 'ontologize remains',²⁴¹ and also a process of *figuring out* what it means. Remembrance practices seek to understand death, give meaning to it, and thereby *tame* it.²⁴² Yet, 'all semanticization [...] finds itself caught up in the work of mourning',²⁴³ which embeds mourning as central to the continual process of cultural memory²⁴⁴ and sense-making. To understand mourning at the root of all thought, to render it a continual process, maps onto Kowalik's insistence on the inability to fully mourn. And studies of literary mourning find in the interminable process to come to terms a more amenable psychoanalytical model for modern literature.

Critics see the impossibility of articulating loss, or the dissatisfaction of every act of remembrance, most reflected in the paradoxical nature of psychoanalytical mourning. For Derrida, it is a matter of *fidelity* to the subject being mourned. "Successful" mourning implies that all that is threatening in the lost object has disappeared and has been processed so that the object is 'simultaneously interiorized within the body as a conscious or preconscious member of its formations'. This makes mourning 'doomed to fail' as it is impossible to interiorize the other in this way, when 'the subject can never entirely free itself from the other whose traces it bears'.²⁴⁵ On the other hand, should it succeed in this interiorisation, this absorption into the ego's constitution of its past, it would be 'unfaithful', 'not respecting his or her infinite exteriority'.²⁴⁶

Faithful mourning, based on the introjection or interiorisation of the other, is unfaithful in that it effaces the radical alterity or otherness of the other; while a failure to mourn (or an unfaithful interiorisation) is paradoxically faithful in that the otherness of the other is respected.²⁴⁷

The latter aspect of unfaithful interiorisation relates to melancholia in the Freudian model, in which the splitting of ego as it fails to "process" (or absorb) the other actually makes for a more

²⁴¹ Jacques Derrida, *Specters*, p. 9.

²⁴² Goetz, p. 12.

²⁴³ Derrida, *Specters*, p. 9.

²⁴⁴ Jan Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 45.

²⁴⁵ Richard Beardsworth, 'Aporia and Phantasm: Modern Law, the Tragic and Time', *Angelaki*, 4 (1999), 37-53 (p. 39), cited in Roger Starling, 'Addressing the Dead of Friendship, Community, and the Work of Mourning', *Angelaki*, 7 (2002), 107-124 (pp. 111-12).

²⁴⁶ Jacques Derrida, *Points ... Interviews, 1974-1994*, ed. by Elisabeth Weber (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), p. 321, cited in Starling, p. 112.

²⁴⁷ Starling, p. 112.

faithful exchange with an other that remains exterior, even hostile and painful.²⁴⁸ Melancholia becomes the privileged concept to express the fundamental entanglement with irrevocable loss. What Horn calls the 'Dezentrierung des Subjekts in der Trauer' is not merely a result of the traces left by the other, rather the other 'nistet sich im Zentrum des Ich als dessen Ureigenstes ein'.²⁴⁹ That embedded and originary relation with death is the ground for the impossibility of mourning, 'die Verweigerung von Trauer', just as Kowalik wrote of the 'Unfähigkeit zu trauern', or what Ramazani calls 'unresolved' mourning.

These theoretical approaches render successful or complete mourning an impossible, if not unfaithful, notion. The paradox provides the ground for a nuanced approach to eulogies, which takes the impossibility of mourning as given, and which questions the fidelity of the rhetorical position. To interiorize an other for the benefit of 'the healthy continuance of the finite being through the endurance and expulsion of that which would threaten or extinguish it' is tantamount to the manipulation of the other for the benefit of the living whole.²⁵⁰ This could be both the result of a social and communal imperative as well as an ethical corruption. In the particular context of eulogies with their potential to figure the individual's and society's fundamental precarity, habituated traditions and protective rhetorical strategies deny death for the sake of a future, vying with the modern propensity to fail to mourn in faithful and continued exchange with the deceased.

8.2 Mourning Practices and Rhetorical Strategies

Eulogies are modern manifestations of ritual practices, what Werberger describes as the shift from 'Totenkult' to 'Textkult'.²⁵¹ Representing 'the continuing existence of community as the pledge to overcome [...] individual transience', remembrance texts have a constructive function and such *aesthetic rituals* 'gehör[en] zu den ältesten anthropologischen Handlungen, den Tod eines bedeutenden Menschen ästhetisch zu gestalten und seinen Abschied auf diese Weise

²⁴⁸ Sigmund Freud, 'Trauer und Melancholie', in Freud, *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. by Anna Freud, Marie Bonaparte, E. Bibring, W. Hoffer, E. Kris und O. Osakower, 18 vols (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1940-68), 10: *Werke aus den Jahren 1913-1917*, pp. 428-47.

²⁴⁹ Horn, p. 27.

²⁵⁰ Starling, p. 111.

²⁵¹ Annette Werberger, 'Zwischen Totenkult und Textkult: Der Mensch, der Tod und das Gedicht', in *Totenkulte: Kulturelle und literarische Grenzgänge zwischen Leben und Tod*, ed. by Patrick Eiden et al. (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2006), pp.103-122 (pp. 106-107).

rituell zu begleiten und zu vollziehen'.²⁵² Rituals have always carried a *creative* aspect, re-constructing identity in the wake of loss.

Die sprachliche symbolische Praxis der Nekrologie ist als paradigmatischer Kern einer Kulturarbeit zu verstehen, die beim Tod eines Menschen Bedeutung und Sinn stiftet, indem sie dessen Identität über den Tod hinaus sichert, die Gemeinschaft neu formiert, existentielle Ängste lindert und so das individuelle und gemeinschaftliche Weiterleben stabilisieren hilft.²⁵³

Approaches to eulogies that focus solely on the social context and rhetoric of eulogies tend to dismiss the grief or mourning of the textual (authorial and personal) voice and with it the psychological context. Reiser's study concludes by suggesting: 'George wie auch die anderen Dichter seiner Gruppe *depotenzieren die eigene Trauer* und den lebensweltlichen Kontext des Toten zugunsten monumentaler mythischer Erinnerungsbilder'.²⁵⁴ The question is whether the active depotentiation of personal grief is ever possible, something which Derrida's idea that we are always in mourning and always entangled with loss certainly denies. In this reading, emotion becomes a 'darzustellendes Abstraktum, anstatt der Empfindung ästhetisch Form zu verleihen und sie zu gestalten'.²⁵⁵ Yet, to cohere eulogies under an aesthetic strategy works against what defines the genre, its contextual specificity, its need to think anew and respond to *a death*. That George's texts intend to work against emotional response does not necessarily mean they do. Rather, that abstraction from the present and the personal becomes just another strategy in the interminable course of mourning, as a manifestation of the continual (failed) process of coming to terms.

To reinsert emotion back into eulogy means to open up space in the discourse for the other, rather than understanding the genre as one in the control of the addresser. If the question is ultimately how to do justice to the deceased, that deceased must in some way find representation in the discourse – the remains are ontologized. The 'intersubjective' psychoanalytic model of mourning has 'intertextual' implications in the discourse, as the trace and voice of the deceased object surfaces in various ways, whether more enigmatically or triumphantly. 'Der trauernde Text zitiert den anderen oder ubertönt ihn; der eigene Diskurs wird heimgesucht von fremden Reden, die ihm in die Feder diktieren oder als Bauchrednerei zu

²⁵² Reiser, p. 13.

²⁵³ Goetz, p. 12.

²⁵⁴ Reiser, p. 380.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 381.

Worte kommen. Trauernde Autorschaft ist weniger denn je Textherrschaft'.²⁵⁶ A mourning author is not *master in his own home*, as the other intrudes and asserts himself on the text. Horn concludes that there are two ways to literarily engage with the deceased, to *defend* oneself against the deceased ('Abwehr der Toten') or to *open* oneself towards them ('Wiederkehr der Toten'):

Als Abwehr der Toten zielt die Konstruktion von Autorschaft auf eine Wiederherstellung der im Verlust des anderen beschädigten Subjektivität: gegen den insistenden Diskurs des Toten von jenseits des Grabes setzt sich das Subjekt in einem Text, der darauf zielt, den anderen zum Schweigen zu bringen, um zuletzt selbst von ihm schweigen zu können. Nur kryptiert - mythologisch überformt, versteckt und verschwiegen - kann der Tote in den Text eingehen. [...] Die 'Wiederkehr' der Toten dagegen impliziert eine Öffnung auf die Stimme des anderen hin: die Heimsuchung des eigenen Texts durch den Toten wird nicht als unheimliche abgewendet, sondern der Text macht sich zum Schauplatz seiner geisterhaften Auferstehung.²⁵⁷

The first position uses the occasion of death to bolster the standing of a future or an ideal society through the monumentalization and abstraction of the individual mourned. This becomes a self-defence, absorbing the loss for the continued healthy future of the ego or society. The second position describes an agonized literary response, failing to assimilate the other into the coherent narrative of the addresser's historical and intellectual abstraction. While the first is an imposition of the subject in a *representation* of the Freudian model of mourning, the second is the imposition of the object in its everyday, personal, material actuality on the text, prolonging an exchange without resolution in an *enactment* of melancholic mourning.

These positions stem from contrasting ethical imperatives. The first prioritizes a responsibility to the mourning society and the future solidity of that society by constructing a coherent history and legacy of the deceased. The second prioritizes a responsibility to the mourned and the continued resonance and resistance of the figure to any form of 'second death'. These positions are ideal ends of a spectrum of literary mourning, but the notion of responsibility must ultimately come into the frame when thinking about the articulation of personal and communal loss.

²⁵⁶ Horn, p. 28.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 240.

8.3 The Feuilleton Eulogy

An understanding of the context of Zweig's eulogies is incomplete without pausing on their main publishing context, the feuilleton. 'Das Ableben von wichtigen Persönlichkeiten der kulturellen Öffentlichkeit zum Anlass für einen abschließend Leben und Werk würdigenden Gedenkartikel unter dem Strich zu nehmen, ist den Feuilleton-Redaktionen zur Selbstverständlichkeit geworden'.²⁵⁸ With the reach and popularity of the feuilleton, eulogies for cultural figures, embedded 'unter dem Strich', became a significant genre that was by association under the same scrutiny as the feuilleton form itself. The *de mortuis nil nisi bonum* approach to eulogy was a natural fit within a form typified by a certain detachment from detailed reality in favour of subjective experience and rhetorical flourish. In the feuilleton, '[t]o render a state of feeling became the mode of formulating a judgement', which when applied to the eulogy implies the aspect of self-portrait, where personal impressions were more important than the recording of fact, so that 'the adjectives engulfed nouns, the personal tint virtually obliterated the contours of the object of discourse'.²⁵⁹

Bogner argues against the common critique of the feuilleton style and does so precisely through the example of the eulogy, which he suggests has in many ways an uninterrupted rhetoric from classical antiquity to modernity.²⁶⁰ It is enough for Bogner that rhetorical tradition is absorbed into the feuilleton eulogy for the common characterisation of the feuilleton as playful and lightweight to be relativized. Yet, the tradition itself remains unchallenged in this assessment. The idea that classical oration works precisely to fulfil the 'imperatives of the militarised *polis*', or society, or that the deceased is 'subordinated to the [...] narcissistic demands of the ego' does not feature,²⁶¹ nor is the notion that a eulogy is in part a self-portrait provoke any questions. The fact that the modern eulogy respects the strictures of the classical genre does not necessarily protect it from critical analysis. The question remains: what is it about the feuilleton form that made it a home for the eulogy and what therefore makes both problematic in the eyes of critics? And, by extension, what do these reservations with form tell us about the approach of the prolific feuilleton eulogist Zweig?

Karl Kraus offers an answer to these questions in his critique of a tribute to the Viennese playwright and feuilletonist Hugo Wittmann published in the *Neue Freie Presse*, with the subtitle

²⁵⁸ Ralf Georg Bogner, 'Der Zeitungs-Nachruf oder das Fortleben von Leichenpredigt und Epicedium im Feuilleton', in *Die lange Geschichte der kleinen Form*, ed. by Kai Kauffmann and Erhard H. Schütz (Berlin: Weidler, 2000), pp. 212-228 (p. 215).

²⁵⁹ Schorske, p. 9.

²⁶⁰ Bogner, pp. 219-20.

²⁶¹ Starling, p. 117.

‘Stimmen hervorragender Schriftsteller’.²⁶² The tribute has contributions by Hermann Bahr, Ludwig Fulda, Paul Goldmann, Maximilian Harden, Hans Müller, Felix Salten, Arthur Schnitzer, Karl Schönherr, Anton Wildgans and finally Stefan Zweig. Kraus’s critique holds up some common aspects of these tributes to his satirical light: Wittmann as master of the feuilleton form; his clarity of expression; his powerful factual memory; the fact that with Wittmann’s death comes the end of the eighteenth century; and the self-assertion of the eulogist. These eulogists are also accused of redundant, inelegant, cliché-ridden, or grammatically questionable expression. The eulogy as an especially non-critical space, an opportunity to laud without qualification and to exalt a contemporary, becomes the crystallized form of the feuilleton for Kraus, at which he takes aim. This critique sheds light on some of the tensions in the feuilleton eulogy, explicated here in a brief comparison between Hermann Bahr’s and Zweig’s tributes to Wittmann.

Bahr opens the commemoration by calling Wittmann the last great feuilletonist and he begins by defining the feuilleton. Bahr situates the feuilleton in a specifically Viennese cultural history (‘zur Wiener Eigenheit gehört’s ja, daß wir gern im Kleinen groß sind’), casts its lineage back to Ancient Rome, to Petrarch and even to Dante’s poetry, before offering a concise description of its aesthetic: ‘Die Kunst des Feuilletonisten besteht darin, aus jeder beliebigen Gelegenheit die Wunder der Sprache hervorbereiten zu lassen. Unfreundlich nennt man das "plaudern"; die Wunder werden dadurch nicht geringer’.²⁶³ Kraus translates this definition of feuilleton as a process of generating language at random, adding a note of surprise in response to Bahr’s assertion that the Roman forum ‘hätte [...] sich aber auf dem weiten Weg bis zum Schottenring erstaunlich konserviert’. Bahr then forges the link to the eighteenth century and the Age of Reason, making Wittmann’s loss not simply the loss of an individual voice but the loss of an entire era and mode of thought. The eulogy becomes less a homage to a man and his oeuvre and more a lament for a representative of imperial Viennese culture, which stands in for culture, *Geist*, and enlightened thought writ large: ‘Jetzt, wo aus unserem Oesterreich selber ein Torso geworden ist, müßten wir vorsorgen, daß wenigstens die geistigen Denkmäler erhalten bleiben.’ Bahr therefore explicitly positions his own commemoration as an attempt to prop up the legacy of Wittmann and construct an identity adequate for the healthy continuation of pre-war literary culture in memory.

²⁶² Kraus, ‘Leidtragende’, a review of ‘Zum Andenken Hugo Wittmanns’, *Neue Freie Presse* (11 February 1923), 29-30.

²⁶³ ‘Zum Andenken Hugo Wittmanns’, p. 29.

Bahr's eulogy owes something to common rhetorical tradition, as it includes: the lament (*Klage, lamentatio*) of the opening line stating the loss of the last great feuilletonist; the praise (*Lob, laudatio*) of his style and his exceptionality; the comparison (*comparatio*) to both immediate (Speidel, Hanslick) and distant forebears (Ancient Rome, Renaissance); the consolation (*Trost, consolatio*) in the idea that he and his literary legacy will be remembered. For Bogner, this would suggest a certain rigour in its fidelity to tradition. For Derrida, that fidelity to tradition drastically threatens the fidelity to the individual object of the eulogy. And for Kraus, the comparisons are hyperbolic and the rhetoric rings hollow precisely because of its iterative and formulaic model.

From one perspective Bahr's text is an exercise in effacing the particularity of Wittmann in favour of preserving an essence of a legacy that is partially constructed in real time in the course of the tribute. The generic remarks on feuilleton at the beginning apply both to Wittmann and to Bahr himself in a clear self-portrait. That the eulogy is as much about the contributors as it is the object of their contributions makes the article an expression of self-preservation in the face of the demise of a pillar of feuilleton culture. Embedding the art in literary and ideological movements from Antiquity to the eighteenth century shifts the ground from the contemporary to the idealized past, something common to the majority of the eulogies in this article, leading Kraus to conclude by writing: 'und wenngleich fast alle Nachrufer darin einig sind, daß Wittmann eigentlich im achtzehnten Jahrhundert zuhause war, so leben wir denn doch nicht mehr in den Tagen, wo sich die großherzoglichen Hoheiten um Rilke scharten'.²⁶⁴ It is left for Kraus therefore to ironically return the subject to the contemporary by drawing a connection between a blind enthusiasm seemingly imperative for the feuilleton eulogy and the cult around contemporary geniuses. By evoking Rilke, Kraus might inadvertently have prognosticated the wealth of eulogies that would proliferate for the poet three years later.

Zweig's tribute is a briefer and more moderate eulogy that is situated in the present and that highlights actual experiences of Wittmann, as opposed to idealized categories. Unlike Bahr, Zweig positions Wittmann in contemporary company:

nur die beiden heroischen Greise Georg Brandes und Anatole France im weiten europäischen Bilde waren ihm vielleicht heute noch vergleichbar in der ungetrübten Bereitschaft eines drei Generationen umspannenden Wissens und

²⁶⁴ Kraus, 'Leidtragende', p. 7.

Erlebens, Altmeister auch sie des geschliffenen Wortes, der rastlos geübten Wertung.²⁶⁵

Zweig's focus, as ever, is on the person behind the writer, as he recalls the 'seltenen Zauber wahrhaftigen Lebendigseins', which 'jeder Müdigkeit, jeder Vergreifung, jedem innerlichen Absterben durch Tatkraft obsiegte'. That vivacity allowed for his talent, 'jeder Jugend sich neujugendlich hinzugeben'. Through a depiction of Wittmann as a refreshing inspiration to new generations, Zweig included, he offers a grounded experience of the man while also establishing his capacity for self-renewal, ultimately as a means of physicalizing and resurrecting the deceased. Wittmann's essence was his vitality and Zweig attempts to assure his ever-presence in collective memory:

Und so Unersetzliches wir mit ihm verlieren, sein Bestes bleibt gewahrt für alle Schaffenden: das Beispiel und einer seltenen Lebensmeisterschaft, einer makellosen Existenz und einer Arbeitsfreude, die sich an ihrer eigenen Rastlosigkeit und tagtäglichen Bereitschaft immer wieder neu verjüngte und vollendete.

The triumphant conclusion to Zweig's tribute cements Wittmann's exceptionality as a 'master of life' who had a flawless existence, derived specifically from his productivity and willingness to work tirelessly in the cultural sphere. In this final line, Zweig is closest to the tone of the rest of the article but is perhaps restrained enough to resist Kraus's explicit denunciation as 'Schmockerei' delivered to the other contributors. Though Wittmann was a distant figure in Zweig's life, the eulogy provides a picture informed by a certain personal impression of vitality of the person and the work. This is transformed in the eulogy to reinforce the Viennese feuilleton as an exemplar of European literary culture.

Kraus's critique of Zweig is only implicit in the general remarks on the article as a whole. Zweig is otherwise spared, partly due to his comparatively moderate rhetoric. Ultimately, Kraus sees epitomized in the tribute for Hugo Wittmann a literary form in which there is a real danger of the 'mystification of reality' in a popular publication that 'provides the daily mental nourishment for the educated class'.²⁶⁶ The eulogy becomes exemplary of the feuilleton style, which Kraus considers the art of a writer 'als lust- und leidgeübten Techniker, als prompten Bekleider vorhandener Stimmungen',²⁶⁷ a style which 'induces the reader to go hurriedly on,

²⁶⁵ 'Zum Andenken Hugo Wittmanns', p. 30.

²⁶⁶ Edward Timms, *Karl Kraus, Apocalyptic Satirist: Culture and Catastrophe in Habsburg Vienna* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), p. 153.

²⁶⁷ Karl Kraus, 'Heine und die Folgen', *Die Fackel* 13 (number 329) (31 August 1911), <<http://corpus1.aac.ac.at/fackel/>> [accessed 9 May 2019].

rather than pondering the content (or lack of content) and the implied (often shallow) system of values in each formulation'.²⁶⁸ The exaggerated praise central to the feuilleton eulogy is a consequence of the penchant for easily identified genius. Kraus and Robert Musil, for example, thought society better served by empiricism, intellect, and perhaps the very rationality that Bahr somewhat arbitrarily declared lost with the loss of Wittmann.²⁶⁹

The study of Zweig's eulogies will look closer at these traits that surface in the Wittmann tribute, which Kraus treated as emblematic of the poverty of both feuilleton and eulogy writing. Contextualized against socio-historical, aesthetic and personal developments, the analysis aims not to simply describe the rhetorical strategies employed but to interrogate them and to highlight the complexities inevitable to a genre, which, in its modern form, often incorporates protective and 'prospective' social ritual²⁷⁰ as well as self-reflexive, agonized and impossible mourning.

8.4 Zweig's Practice

Gelber attempts to counteract the depiction of Zweig as thanatologist by interpreting the eulogies as texts which 'transform[] life impulses into literary productivity at the moment of death'.²⁷¹ Since death initiates the celebration of life in response in the form of eulogies and funeral addresses, Gelber suggests that the eulogies are the key textual space in which Zweig's literary productivity is most energized. In the hyper-positive immortalizing rhetoric of the standard eulogy, a core creative life impulse is enacted and performed for the addresser himself and for the community the address serves. Gelber takes this as evidence that, while Zweig also records the decline of a tradition, he is most concerned with instantly revitalizing and reabsorbing the loss back into cultural memory for the continuation of that same tradition. This position is close to those that interpret eulogies as devoid of personal emotion, as a 'darzustellendes Abstraktum', precisely to enthuse about the accomplishments that will survive and thus immortalize the deceased. Such *depotentiating* portraits encompass the whole life, *encapsulating* the deceased. The immediate loss is therefore treated with a critical and temporal distance at home in biographies of long-deceased figures. Ultimately, this interpretation renders

²⁶⁸ Jay F. Bodine, 'Heinrich Heine, Karl Kraus and "die Folgen": A Test Case of Literary Texts, Historical Reception and Receptive Aesthetics', *Colloquia Germanica*, 17 (1984), 14-59 (p. 32).

²⁶⁹ David S. Luft, *Robert Musil and the Crisis of European Culture 1880-1942* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), pp. 165-168 especially.

²⁷⁰ Jan Assmann, p. 45.

²⁷¹ Gelber, 'Stefan Zweig as (Austrian) Eulogist', p. 162.

eulogies responses to *lives* and not *deaths*, and the deceased are immediately re-presented as if never lost. This leads Gelber to offer one conclusion of his notion that death sparked literary enthusiasm: 'Zweig's craving for spiritual sustenance was fed commensurately by his eulogistic productivity, which served to prolong his own life and creativity, rather than serving, perhaps as a catalyst or otherwise, to bring it to an end'.²⁷²

This argument points to the fact that Zweig's memoirs were provisionally titled *Meine Drei Leben*, evidence for Gelber that in the eulogy of a lost age, 'he was able to marshal life forces'. First, the memoirs were of course eventually entitled *Die Welt von Gestern*, emphasising precisely the opposite idea of mourning for a lost age and shifting emphasis away from the *continuation* of any life/lives. Second, it is a restrictive aesthetic argument to claim that Zweig fed off the deaths of peers as opportunities to laud and cement their achievements in order to secure his 'spiritual sustenance' and a progressive European humanism. This views the eulogy as an aesthetic and social practice alone. From a personal and psychological perspective, evident also in the confessional sources, letters and diaries around the moments of the deaths for which he wrote tributes, the abundant deaths of cultural exemplars and friends weighed heavily on the eulogist Zweig. The dutiful over-celebration is a necessary posture and strategy to revalue and invert the death against *death* and decline.

Not only should the life-affirming approach be interpreted as one mourning strategy among many, but the rhetoric itself always carries the natural ambiguity of coming to terms with death. While Zweig's texts certainly display the most enthusiastic, florid rhetoric of his oeuvre, as Gelber correctly states, a personal aspect of mourning should be reinserted in order to frame these texts as part of a distinct genre that depends on actual and painful deaths. By doing so, the eulogies can be seen as part of a process of coming to terms and not simply as fully articulated encapsulations of personalities.

To insert mourning into the interpretation of eulogy is therefore at the very least to re-insert the immediate death as the object of the discourse, whether that object is ultimately transfigured by the drive to resuscitate, or whether, in rare moments, that object imposes itself on and into an agonized text. To focus on mourning also holds the text to ethical account. It allows the interpretation to go beyond the mere description of rhetoric and the postulation of its purposes, to pose questions around the fidelity of the textual interrelation between

²⁷² Ibid., p. 161.

addresser and deceased. Gelber does not question the 'credibility of such florid statements' and states the following:

Rather, it is fair to say that the rhetoric of 'essence' in these eulogies, even while it often suggests a privileged vantage of insight while constituting a problematical complexity of perception, is what appears to be most compelling, rather than any kind of convincing referentiality. As a matter of fact, one's critical faculties tend to be neutralized by the characteristically and overwhelmingly florid rhetoric of sweeping essentialism.²⁷³

The tolerance towards the lack of 'convincing referentiality' misses the ethical aspect of eulogy and betrays Gelber's focus purely on the aesthetic of the genre in Zweig's hands. It leads him to ultimately wrest life and progress from the enthusiastic writing, in part because the 'sweeping essentialism' goes unquestioned in the first place. By favouring the life forces in Zweig's eulogies before its mourning aspects, Gelber ignores the complexity of the situated genre and the precarity of a writer coming to terms with the death of a friend or peer, while figuring their own unfigureable death.

8.5 The Tropes

Having looked at the contexts of Zweig's eulogies, characteristic tropes of the genre can be isolated. This is not an exhaustive list and indeed it would run counter to this thesis to *define* a genre that is defined anew in each response to a specific context and a specific death. That said, these tropes will signpost the discussion in the close analyses to follow.

(i) Traditional rhetoric: Every eulogy naturally contains an element, or a combination of elements inherited from the classical rhetorical tradition. Addressers console, praise, lament, compare, following the injunction *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*, never to speak ill of the dead. Every eulogist works with an existing model therefore, even if it is subverted. Zweig also works within this tradition and is often faithful to the genre's tendency towards florid style. The non-critical space of the eulogy encourages, if not demands, the exaltation of the deceased to establish a legacy and to secure society in the face of death. The enthusiastic affirmative approach is common across Zweig's writing and yet still the 'eulogies evidence some of the worst or most

²⁷³ Ibid., p. 154.

trite hyperbole in his literary arsenal'.²⁷⁴ Zweig's 'scent of perfume' is at its most intense in the eulogies and thus the genre offers a concentration of Zweig's style.²⁷⁵

(ii) Immortalization: Following Bauman's assertion that cultural production is dependent on an immortality principle, the eulogy becomes a counter to death, a textual taming that attempts to establish the immortal credentials of the person and work of the deceased. The frequent references to eternal or ideal realms support this trope.

(iii) Presentification: An integral operation of that immortality principle is the striving to make the absent present, the process of *Vergegenwärtigung*. Assmann considers this a fundamental practice of cultural memory writ large, Derrida frames his analysis of mourning in relation to the drive to 'ontologize remains', and eulogists attempt to evoke the presence of the recently deceased for the audience or readership as a means of concretizing the immortalized person. Zweig employs spatial metaphors that re-situate the deceased in a new realm, or focuses on the vitality of the deceased and their continued active presence.

(iv) Ritual and social identity construction: The eulogy works ultimately on one level towards constructing an identity that is applicable and useful to the continuation of society in the face of death. A narrative frame represents of the deceased for a community. A coherent, abstracted, mythologized figure tends to stand in for the personal and real object. The security of this narrative for the future is dependent on a certain consistency and therefore repetition of the past and an ideal. Zweig's writing has at its core a service to others, promoting creative figures as a means of disseminating a European humanist message 'through the Austrian example'.²⁷⁶ Eulogies provide platforms for embedding a narrative of cultural continuity and idealism.

(v) Self-Portrait: Self-portrait is the inevitable result of an addresser attempting to make sense of a death. There is a dual aspect to self-portrait: the eulogizer reveals more of themselves in a construction of the deceased's identity, but a reflection on a death might also lead to a personal awareness of mortality and the precarity of the self. Personal reflection is often absent from Zweig's eulogies, as he adopts the 'we' of the audience and the 'we' of the future he is trying to construct. Personality can then be both a rhetorical strategy of supra-personal communality or it might be interpreted to surface as the intrusion of the other in dialogue with the eulogizer in

²⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 157.

²⁷⁵ Marcel Reich-Ranicki, 'Fragen Sie Reich-Ranicki: Man riecht immer das Parfüm', *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung (Feuilleton)* (4 November 2008), <<http://www.faz.net/1.730964>> [accessed 9 May 2019].

²⁷⁶ Gelber, 'Stefan Zweig as (Austrian) Eulogist', p. 153.

mourning. Zweig's varying proximity to the figures eulogized should therefore be considered when reading the texts.

(vi) Aesthetic interrogation: Alongside self-interrogation, eulogies tend to interrogate and test the limits of their own aesthetic form. The articulation of an impossibility to speak has its most paradigmatic expression in writing on death, that ultimately unknowable and unspeakable experience. Eulogies then tend to emphasize their inadequateness while offering the most appropriate responses possible. The extent to which this interrogation is merely *displayed* rather than *enacted* or *performed* is one of the significant differences between eulogies. Zweig is often at pains to show how language fails on occasions of death.

(vii) Fidelity: The ethical context of writing on death is based on a fidelity to the object mourned. This is in contrast to the fidelity to society, which relates to self-defence and the assertion of the ego. It is simply a question of what is appropriate and how to do justice to this *individual*. Yet, Derrida's approach seeks not to do justice *to* an other, but seeks justice *for* them, retaining the alterity of that other. Ultimately, fidelity is always in doubt due to the 'ineluctability of iteration in the practice of mourning', leaving the efforts to remember the individual always at risk of being absorbed by generic mourning and 'prescribed rhetoric' for a repeated unchanging death.²⁷⁷

(viii) Prosopopoeia: 'A rhetorical device by which an imaginary, absent, or dead person is represented as speaking or acting',²⁷⁸ prosopopoeia is one way to make the deceased present and is a common feature of eulogies. Under this term we can include citation, imitation, or performance of the deceased. By allowing the other to speak, uninterrupted by means of citation, the other may be considered present in its alterity, and yet it can be argued that citing passages uninterrupted is no fidelity since the addresser offers no genuine dialogue, eventually leading to the charge of absorption into the monolithic narrative of the eulogy.

In a first moment, citation seems to be a way of avoiding the indecency or irresponsibility of speaking simply *of* the dead, *of* them as a subject or object.

Whence the possibility of simply citing them, of letting them speak without

²⁷⁷ Pascale-Anne Brault and Michael Naas, 'Introduction', in *The Work of Mourning*, ed. by Brault and Naas (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2001), p. 16.

²⁷⁸ OED online < <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/153015?redirectedFrom=prosopopoeia#eid> > accessed 5 June 2019.

interference or interruption. But to do only this would be to offer no real recognition or tribute, no genuine gift to the other.²⁷⁹

Therefore, the way the other features in eulogies and the extent to which it forms part of a genuine dialogue can differ and contribute differently to the sense of fidelity to the object, something doomed to be incomplete and unsatisfactory in any case. The complexity of faithful interaction and the representation of that faithful interaction introduces a set of possible speaker positions, all of which are employed in the genre:

- Speaking **to** the other: Karl Kraus's address in memory of Peter Altenberg insists on the second-person address for example.²⁸⁰
- Speaking **of** the other: The other remains at a distance as they are described, in order to be resurrected as something new and ideal.
- Speaking **the** other: Eulogies often channel the other by way of imitation, which can tend towards pastiche or become a genuine enactment of the contested melancholic ego.
- Speaking **as** the other: To cite the other allows the other to take the stage but may also absorb the other in the narrative of the address.
- Speaking **for** the other: Close to the latter example of using the other's voice to support a reconstructed interpretation of their life, this implies the other has been deprived of agency and the addresser speaks from a position of *Textherrschaft*.

This overview has aimed to establish the ground for an interrogation of the genre of eulogy exemplified by Stefan Zweig in its twentieth-century Viennese spoken and written contexts. Analysing eulogies against social, aesthetic *and* psychological and ethical categories will allow for a consideration of the genre from the less stable foundation of the impossibility to mourn and will therefore be able to point out ambiguities in rhetoric that are central to the mourning position. Zweig is well aware that 'Abschiednehmen ist eine schwere Kunst'²⁸¹ but no study has approached his eulogies as difficult and ultimately unsatisfactory.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 23-24.

²⁸⁰ Karl Kraus, *Peter Altenberg. Grabrede* (Wien: Lanyi, 1919).

²⁸¹ Stefan Zweig, 'Abschied von John Drinkwater', first published as 'Schattenspiel des Lebens', *Central-Verein-Zeitung*, Berlin (28 March 1937), p. 8, and later in Zweig, *Begegnungen mit Menschen, Buchern, Städten*, pp. 154-157 (p. 154).

9 The Early Eulogies: David, Matkowsky, Kainz

This chapter focuses on Zweig's first eulogies up to 1918 in the context of his rapid literary development. The genre demands that its author be established in order to write with authority and to have the literary recognition to be able to bestow the rhetorical immortality on the legacy. That Zweig's first recorded eulogy was for Jakob Julius David in 1906 speaks to this particular set of demands, since the precocious author had already managed to establish himself as poet, writer of short stories, essayist, reviewer, translator, editor, literary biographer and had just begun a collaboration with the Insel Verlag by the time of David's death in November 1906. Zweig had also just finished writing his first verse drama *Tersites*. That he had not ventured into the genre of eulogy before this date might be surprising, but it speaks to the veneration afforded the task and the apprenticeship required for the role. This means that no published eulogy by Zweig will be found for literary figures whose deaths marked the earliest years of twentieth-century Vienna, namely Otto Weininger – a classmate of Zweig's at the University of Vienna – and Theodor Herzl – one of Zweig's earliest promoters – both of whom were subjects of later essays.

Jakob Julius David (d. 20.11.1906)

1906 was an important year in Zweig's career as it marked the publication of his second poetry collection, *Die frühen Kränze*, his first publication with the prestigious publishing house and future long-term collaborator, the Insel Verlag, under the direction of Anton Kippenberg. With the confidence of his new recognition, Zweig attempted a long-form genre with his play *Tersites*. Nearing completion, he wrote to Ellen Key: 'Nur habe ich selbst einen überschärften Blick für das Bruchige in meinem Werk. Ich weiß nicht, ob ich das Stück veröffentlichen soll'.²⁸² The initial hesitation and uncertainty around his abilities disappeared when the play was accepted by the Königliches Schauspielhaus in Berlin.²⁸³ In addition to *Tersites*, Zweig expressed a desire to begin an even bigger project in 1905, when he writes: 'Ich habe die Idee zu einem großen Buch über Balzac'.²⁸⁴ This readiness to begin more important work inaugurated by this combination of (self-)confidence and writerly maturity is also the context for Zweig's first foray into eulogy.

²⁸² Zweig to Ellen Key, 9 February 1906: B I, p. 115.

²⁸³ Monika Meister, 'Tersites (1907)' in HB, pp. 112-118 (p. 112).

²⁸⁴ Zweig to Franz Karl Ginzkey, March 1905: B I, p. 97.

The subject of this first eulogy might have suggested itself to the author of *Tersites*, a drama which displayed 'schon einen gewissen persönlichen Zug meiner inneren Einstellung an, die unweigerlich nie die Partei der sogenannten "Helden" nimmt, sondern Tragik immer nur im Besiegten sieht' (WVG, p. 187). Zweig's anti-hero – 'de[r] leidende[] Mensch statt jenes, der durch seine Kraft und Zielsicherheit den andern Leiden erschafft' (WVG, p. 188) – lays the foundation for a continual preoccupation with a 'Poetik des Besiegten',²⁸⁵ or a 'Thematik des Leidens'.²⁸⁶ In the year his tragic drama was completed, Zweig was to continue his theme in the eulogy for the ever-suffering Jakob Julius David, who once wrote in an autobiographical sketch: 'Ich aber schien mir und allen rettungslos verloren [...] Nur stupider Trotz erhielt mich am Leben'.²⁸⁷ Zweig's interest in writing a text for J. J. David can thus in part be understood through the appropriateness of the deceased. Zweig had already fully articulated his anti-heroic ethics of the defeated, which could be reinforced in a tragic life, as well as in drama. Hence Zweig's blunt evaluation of David's life in the second paragraph: '[e]ine furchtbare Tragödie war es'.²⁸⁸ This first tragic approach to eulogy bears scrutiny as a contrast to later exaggerated discourses of immortality.

Little has been written about Zweig's eulogy for David. Gelber mentions it in the context of Zweig's tendency 'to formulate effusively positive but misguided valuations of some of his subjects', pointing to David as one example of a writer whose relevance was artificially overstated:

Zweig thus expressed a belief in their future longevity and relevance, their literary after-life as a trope for transcending death, when in fact they, their writings, and their reputations were either already moribund when they died or would soon be consigned to oblivion.²⁸⁹

This is a familiar trope of Zweig's eulogies but this first text offers restrained declarations of longevity in comparison to later examples. J. J. David scholars of course resist his consignment to oblivion, portraying him rather as 'eine der herausragenden, wenn auch heute zu Unrecht

²⁸⁵ Arturo Larcati, 'Das Motiv des Besiegten', in HB, pp. 722-732 (p. 722).

²⁸⁶ Meister, p. 117.

²⁸⁷ Erich Schmidt, 'Vorwort', in J. J. David, *Gesammelte Werke*, 1: *Gedichte; Die Höferecht* (Munich: Piper, 1908), p. xii.

²⁸⁸ Stefan Zweig, 'Dem Gedächtnis J. J. Davids', *Das literarische Deutsch-Österreich* (February 1906), reprinted in *Blätter der Stefan Zweig Gesellschaft* no. 4/5 (April 1959), pp. 5-7.

²⁸⁹ Gelber, 'Stefan Zweig as (Austrian) Eulogist', p. 160.

fast vergessenen Persönlichkeiten des Wiener Kulturlebens seiner Zeit'.²⁹⁰ For these critics, Zweig's eulogy becomes '[d]er bedeutendste Nachruf auf David',²⁹¹ as a tribute by an already esteemed literary figure who belonged to the following generation and thus naturally represented David's posterity, or breathed life into it.

The first paragraph encapsulates a life of struggle, shifting from the early shadow of death around the young suffering David to the rebirth of a convalescent and back to his premature death, establishing the predestined tragic trajectory. 'Hart war der Tod gegen ihn, fast so hart wie das Leben', begins Zweig before summarising the parabolic journey: 'Wie sie [die Flamme seines Lebens] steil wieder emporwuchs, mit goldenem Kerne sich füllend, sanftes Licht, Wärme, Leben, Werke spendend, dann wieder – jäh zusammenschauernd – in sich zurücksank. Und nun endlich verlosch.' The intimacy of life and death in the opening sketch allows Zweig to tie death to productivity in the next paragraph: 'Eine furchtbare Tragödie war es und—wie alle großen Tragödien— erfüllt von einer bitteren Ironie. Denn je mehr der Tod ihn niederzwang, desto lebendiger, blutpochender wurden seine Werke. Es war ein Wachsen ohnegleichen'. Ultimately, suffering and the proximity to death become fundamental to David's constitution and creative capacity: 'Was andere zermalmt hätte, hätte ihn nur gehärtet'. His work was '[n]ichts neues' but a mirror of his past and his Moravian homeland: 'Das früh mit vollen Lungen Eingesogene seiner heimatlichen Liebe, hier war es wieder, erlöst aus einer dunklen Brust, die es einsam gehütet'. Focusing on a dark, shadowy, grey palette, akin to his depiction of E. M. Lilien's Galician homeland,²⁹² Zweig ponders the source of his unhappiness, again grounding it in racial terms and his predetermined tragedy:

War dies dunkle Erbschaft seine jüdischen Blutes? Oder war in ihm dieser helle Quell erst erstorben, versickert in grauen Stunden, verdampft in den heißen Flammen der Schmerzen, die ihn durchloderten? Düster war er; dumpf und ein wenig bedrückend sein Werk. Vielleicht nur dunkel, weil es stets im Schatten blühte [...]

Pain brings new works, which in turn compound the suffering in the thankless process of the 'öden Tagesberuf[]' and in their lack of recognition: 'Er fühlte sich zurückgesetzt, verkannt, und – es kann nicht nachdrücklich genug gesagt sein – er war es auch'. At this halfway point, Zweig

²⁹⁰ Giovanni Tateo, 'Zwischen Hauptstadt und mährischer Provinz: Jakob Julius Davids Erzählung Die Hanna (1904)', *Deutschsprachige Literatur und Kultur im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Maria Wojtczak [Studia Germanica Posnaniensia], 32 (2011), 121-136 (p. 124).

²⁹¹ Ibid., p. 125.

²⁹² Stefan Zweig, 'Ephraim Mose Lilien' (1902), in GWE *Das Geheimnis des künstlerischen Schaffens. Essays*, pp. 28-52.

has reached the peak of tragedy. David is thus far a product of his birthplace and his 'race'. In this respect, Zweig follows both his study of Taine but also David's own concept of creativity, which was a question of cultural identity, and '[d]ie Konstruktion einer solchen Identität findet ein konstitutives Moment in der Beziehung zur Landschaft'.²⁹³ The focus in this first half is therefore on the predetermined life of struggle, and the attendant shadow of death, both of which are intrinsically connected to David's Jewishness, which is in turn connected to 'Landschaft'.

Tone and tense then shift, so that the preceding 'er war es auch' leads straight into '[s]eine Novellen werden bleiben', a short, affirmative declaration that cuts off the lament. The adjectives employed are no longer evocative of struggle, death, darkness (schwer, unwillig, öde, dunkel, bitter), and his prose is described in terms of power, energy, productivity (erdkräftig, herb, kernig) and possessing '[e]in starkes Herz, das heute schon stille steht, pocht warm in ihnen [seine Novellen]'. His novellas' German is 'siebenfach gehärtet', a strength that is carried into a surprising comparison to the German of Luther and Lessing. The word 'Deutsch' is repeated in close succession in relation to the vibrant quality of his writing, '[d]as Harte, Wilde, Unbändige [...] die wilde Farbe, das scharfe Gewühl', which sets up the 'German' aspect of his creativity against the weight of his Moravian past. This ends with a reminder of the centrality of homeland to his work: 'und dann die Heimat. Zuerst die Heimat und dann Wien'.

Zweig points to two things that will survive the deceased: his work and his bitterness, which 'muß heute in uns sein und ihn klagend überleben'. That tragic experience must be remembered as a lesson not to under-appreciate: '[es] muß heute öffentlich gesagt sein: wie man einen Dichter, einen der Besten in Oesterreich mißachtet hat. Man muß anklagen'. That lament targets the 'deutsche Lesepublikum und seine Führer', the theatre-going 'Wiener Publikum', and the directors of the theatres, none of whom granted the recognition, the second editions, the theatre productions that an artist on the edge of death deserved. His full name appears for the second and last time, leading to definitive and pithy summary: 'Aber er war ein Wiener Dichter und ein Todgeweihter'.

Zweig ends the eulogy with silence: 'Aber es ist eine stille Stunde heute. Denn die Schollen sind noch locker über seinem Sarg...'. The text shapes David's life as a journey from death to life and back to death. Zweig's brief declarations of posterity are confident but are moderated by the sympathetic demand for but ultimate lack of universal recognition. This eulogy contains the elements of an overly emphatic enthusiasm and displays the superlatives at

²⁹³ Tateo, p. 129.

home in later examples, and yet it retains the moderation and resignation dictated by tragic predestination. The enthusiastic revitalisation of the subject through a depiction of his work's beating heart ('starkes Herz') is temporary and surrounded by reminders of a tragic (after-)life.

The silence described at the end is therefore both a traditional mark of respect but a self-aware resignation to the silence that David's literary future might hold. No doubt Zweig makes the case to revalue David but he undercuts his own demands, following his own practised defiance of the heroic in favour of depicting the 'Tragik immer nur im Besiegten'. In the weeks before his death, David 'scherzte [...] noch über den Nekrolog, den dieser bald schreiben würde. Kränze und Grabreden, mit den üblichen lauten Duzapostrophen, hatte er sich ausdrücklich verboten.'²⁹⁴ In many ways, Zweig respects these prescriptions by attempting to depict his subject on his own terms, leaving him in 'eine das Individuum entkräftende Isolation'²⁹⁵ and leaving the tragedy resonant and unresolved.

Adalbert Matkowsky (d. 16.03.1909)

Tersites articulated Zweig's poetics of suffering and elevated the author into the theatrical world he had grown up, like his peers, to idolize. Adalbert Matkowsky and Joseph Kainz were the greatest actors of their generation and the former was cast to play Achilles in Zweig's first drama:

Ich erschrak beinahe vor Freude. Die deutsche Nation hatte damals zwei große Schauspieler, Adalbert Matkowsky und Josef Kainz; der erste, ein Norddeutscher, unerreicht durch die elementare Wucht seines Wesens, seine hinreißende Leidenschaft – der andere, unser Wiener Josef Kainz, beglückend durch seine geistige Grazie, seine nie mehr erreichte Sprechkunst, die Meisterschaft des schwingenden wie des metallischen Worts. Nun sollte Matkowsky meine Gestalt verlebendigen, meine Verse sprechen, das angesehenste Theater der Hauptstadt des Deutschen Reiches meinem Drama Patendienste leisten – eine dramatische Karriere unvergleichlicher Art schien sich mir, der sie nicht gesucht hatte, zu eröffnen. (WVG, p. 188-89)

A few weeks into rehearsals, with Zweig en route to Berlin to observe, Matkowsky fell ill and died shortly after. Zweig responds to the actor's death with a eulogy in verse, only later

²⁹⁴ Erich Schmidt, p. xxii.

²⁹⁵ Tateo, p. 126.

published in 1920 but written on hearing the news in 1909. This is Zweig's only poetic eulogy and is surely under the influence of Hofmannsthal's poems in memory of actors.²⁹⁶ Considering the eulogies of Matkowsky and Kainz together reveals an attempt to respond *creatively* to the death of theatrical legends. Unlike later eulogies, these two tributes avoid encapsulating biographies in favour of evoking a *scene* through which a collective memory of the theatre is reinforced. Zweig aims to give the actors their due not by (re)constructing a legacy through eulogy but shows how they exceed any prosaic portrait and how it is more appropriate to remember their artifice (that is, their dramatic persona) through further artifice, rather than describe an off-stage life unrecognizable and distant to a generation of theatre-goers.

Echoing Hermann Bahr's dictum that 'life is the imitation of theatre', Zweig reflected on the centrality of the theatre to turn-of-the-century Viennese life in *Die Welt von Gestern*:

Denn das kaiserliche Theater, das Burgtheater war für den Wiener, für den Österreicher mehr als eine bloße Bühne, auf der Schauspieler Theaterstücke spielten; es war der Mikrokosmos, der den Makrokosmos spiegelte, der bunte Widerschein, in dem sich die Gesellschaft selbst betrachtete, der einzig richtige ›cortigiano‹ des guten Geschmacks. (WVG, p. 31)

Zweig attempts to offer an authentic memorialisation not by demystifying the cult personalities of renowned actors, but by adding another artistic layer to emblems of Viennese 'theatromania' (WVG, p. 34). The eulogist carries out the practice of the 'schöne Leich', as he himself articulates it in the same passage on Viennese theatre:

[...] sogar seinen Tod verwandelte ein richtiger Wiener noch in eine Schaufreude für die andern. In dieser Empfänglichkeit für alles Farbige, Klingende, Festliche, in dieser Lust am Schauspielhaften als Spiel- und Spiegelform des Lebens, gleichgültig ob auf der Bühne oder im realen Raum, war die ganze Stadt einig. (WVG, p. 34)

That Zweig's creative responses to deaths are limited to these two actors who died before the war shows Zweig's continual variation in his later attempts to empathetically imitate, enact, and do justice to his object. Their situation in the 'world of security', in the thick of Viennese 'theatromania', makes these examples unique amongst Zweig's eulogistic oeuvre.

²⁹⁶ See 'Zum Gedächtnis des Schauspielers Mitterwurzer' (1898) and 'Auf den Tod des Schauspielers Hermann Müller' (1899), in Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Sämtlicher Werke. Kritische Ausgabe*, ed. by Rudolf Hirsch et al., 41+ vols (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1975-), I: *Gedichte 1* (1984), ed. by Andreas Thomasberger and Ingeborg Beyer-Ahlert, pp. 82-83 and 89-90 respectively.

In 'Matkowsky's Othello', Zweig depicts the experience of watching the actor play Othello, beginning the poem with an exposition of the final scenes on the stormy Cyprus. That storm rises up through the hero and the poetic voice, the spectator, cannot object to Othello's violence against Desdemona: 'Und wer von denen, die da lauschten, wer | Versagte ihm den Dienst? Tief in uns allen | War ein Gefühl von Knaben und Vasallen, | Wenn er so schritt [...]'.²⁹⁷ As doubt gnaws at Othello, a new storm brews 'Und seine Stimme stärker als ein Sturm | Sich bäumte, wilde Verse hin in Splittern | Zerschellte an die aufgetürmten Quadern! | Fieber war alles! [...]'. That fever reaches its crescendo in the hero's act of suicide: '[...] Wie Wetterleuchten, rot / Schoß es aus seiner Brauen tiefen Bogen; | Ein Donner, kam sein Zorn herangezogen, | Und rollte, grollte... Da – ein Blitz – sein Tod!' Zweig animates Matkowsky's much-lauded Othello in an attempt to cede his own personality and critical distance to the personality and presence of the actor, albeit in a creative form.

Zweig offers a depiction of the stage legend consistent with the language of contemporary theatre commentators, evident in Karl Kraus's praise for Matkowsky's 'vulkanisches Temperament' and 'Elementarereignis'.²⁹⁸ Julius Bab sees Matkowsky reach his apotheosis in his Shakespearean roles because the actor experiences 'das Erlebnis der menschlichen Leidenschaft als weltergründendes Schicksal' and the actor understands each word 'als Fahrzeug der Leidenschaft, als Weckruf der Bewegung'. Ultimately, for Bab, 'Hier wird nicht mehr geredet, weder klug, noch erhaben, noch lyrisch, - hier wird gespielt! Aus jedem Wort wird Charakteristik, Leben, Bewegung gesaugt'.²⁹⁹ Zweig positions us *in medias res*, to evoke precisely what these critics venerate: passion and an eruption from psychological depths. The consistent quatrains rhyming *abba* may risk re-lyricising a performance that supposedly transforms verse into sheer reality. Yet Zweig's stanzas are punctuated mid-line and the enjambment builds the crescendo leading to the eruptions of emotion and Othello's death. Thus, the lyrical regularity is in tension with an underlying emotion that stretches and interrupts, ultimately playing out Bab's idea that words are vehicles for emotional reality in Matkowsky's performances.

Zweig does not end the tribute at the end of the play, however. The same fever that tears through Othello and culminates in his suicide rises up in the audience. Othello dies but

²⁹⁷ 'Matkowsky's Othello', first published in H. Glücksmann and E. Rosenthal, eds, *Almanach des Deutschen Volkstheaters auf das Jahr 1920* (Leipzig: Tal, 1920), also in GWE *Silberne Saiten* (1982), pp. 182-183.

²⁹⁸ Karl Grimstad, *Masks of the Prophet: The Theatrical World of Karl Kraus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), p. 48.

²⁹⁹ Julius Bab, *Adalbert Matkowsky. Eine Heldensage* (Berlin: 1932), p. 174.

‘[...] wach war alles...Was wir kaum verhalten, | Rauschte im Sturz aus den versperreten Tiefen,
 | Das Blut...die Stimme. Und wir riefen, riefen [...]’. Theatre becomes life in this image of continuity between stage and spectator. The actor returns to receive his applause in a resurrectorive act revealing the deception of his death, nevertheless ‘[...] Wie es war genug | Ihn anzusehen’. In Görner’s words, ‘Der Schein genügte; mehr zu verlangen, erübrigte sich angesichts solcher Schauspielkunst’³⁰⁰ because in the artifice resides both ‘Die Schicksal von so viel erträumten Toten | Und so viel edle Wirklichkeit [...]’ (‘Matkowskys Othello’). The final stanza evokes the actor’s actual death and he fades from view: ‘Denn was er lebte von Unsterblichkeiten | Ward nun zum Bild und stirbt in unserm Wort.’ Zweig therefore denies his poem the power of immortalisation, suggesting that what the actor *lived* in terms of ‘immortalities’ (stage lives and deaths) can now only become ‘image’, necessarily fixed, and so dead, in words. Zweig implies the hierarchy experience-image-word, where his attempts to evoke the experience of Matkowsky’s performance of ‘edle Wirklichkeit’ can only ever be an image, itself ultimately trapped and distanced in the medium of language. Görner again: ‘Nicht der Nachruf verewigt; vielmehr hat der Künstler des Augenblicks, der Schauspieler, seine Verewigungen mit an den "fremden" Grabort genommen’.³⁰¹

Zweig’s response to Adalbert Matkowsky’s death contains no high immortalising pretensions. It avoids an encapsulation of the life and animates a snapshot of the theatrical personality that was more *real* for his public than the man himself could be. The scene depicted attempts to capture only one moment, a fragment of an experience that, in its struggle to convey the elemental emotion shared between stage and crowd, also enacts the avowed insufficiency of words as a response. Hence the choice of a creative response, the lyric form, as the most appropriate representation of a master of artifice that was truer than life. Görner suggests that the poem “‘zeigt” [...], dass der dargestellte Schein mehr sein kann als das gelebte Leben’, and that *zeigen* is not only an *indication* of Matkowsky’s supreme acting but is also an *enactment* of Zweig’s privileging of *Schein* over Matkowsky’s lived reality.

Josef Kainz (d. 20.09.1910)

Zweig contrasted Matkowsky to his contemporary Josef Kainz: ‘der erste, ein Norddeutscher, unerreicht durch die elementare Wucht seines Wesens, seine hinreißende Leidenschaft – der andere, unser Wiener Josef Kainz, beglückend durch seine geistige Grazie, seine nie mehr

³⁰⁰ Rüdiger Görner, ‘Das Lyrik’ in HB, p. 110.

³⁰¹ Ibid., p. 110.

erreichte Sprechkunst, die Meisterschaft des schwingenden wie des metallischen Worts' (WVG, p. 188). Zweig's distinction is evident in his responses to their deaths. Again, Zweig's terms of comparison reflect the opinions of contemporaries. Kraus saw the two as polar opposites, condemning Kainz as a symbol of theatre's decay and also as the darling of a Viennese press he despised. Kraus thought Kainz's interpretations without personality and soul, and the rhetoric artificial.³⁰² What condemns Kainz in Kraus's eyes becomes a matter of stylistic difference in Zweig's, yet the characterisation of the actor as a master of 'Sprechkunst' and of the 'metallisches Wort' does not distance Kainz from the charge of artificial rhetorician. Still, Kainz and Matkowsky remain equals in *Die Welt von Gestern*.

Zweig's collaboration with Kainz ended before the premiere of the one-act *Der verwandelte Komödiant*, commissioned for the actor at his request, after Kainz fell ill and died before rehearsals could begin. Zweig's letters reflect the esteem in which Kainz was held: 'Wir erleiden eben den bittersten Verlust des Theaters: Kainz liegt im Sterben. Ich habe ihm noch am Krankenbett vor Wochen gesehn und kann es gar nicht fassen, daß so viel Kraft verlischt'.³⁰³ Weeks after the death, this loss becomes simply that of 'the best', the signal of a fundamental, irrevocable new void in Viennese life: 'Der Beste ist im Sterben, Kainz; der andere Große, Mahler, für Wien verloren – wir haben jetzt nur mehr Schatten und Puppen statt großer wirkender Menschen'.³⁰⁴ A similar tone is struck around the later deaths of Rilke and Hofmannsthal but Kainz's loss is the first time Zweig responds as if one, if not the principal, pillar of Viennese society has fallen.

Zweig's response, 'Die Stimme', is again an attempt to depict a scene in order to *show* the power of the performer, forgoing any personal history. More than 'Matkowsky's Othello', 'Die Stimme' represents a dialogic encounter between deceased and eulogist: 'einsame Zwiesprache will ich mit ihm!'.³⁰⁵ Further, Hofmannsthal's own 'Verse zum Gedächtnis Josef Kainz' was a more direct influence on Zweig's prose reflection. First, Hofmannsthal's poem centres on the same, albeit much-lauded, aspect of actor, as it begins, 'O hätt ich seine Stimme, hier um ihn | Zu klagen!', and ends, 'O Stimme! Seele! aufgeflogene!'.³⁰⁶ Second, Hofmannsthal donated a draft of his poem to Zweig's collection on 10 November 1910, two months before Zweig's

³⁰² See Grimstad, chapters 1 and 2.

³⁰³ Zweig to Julius Bab, 6 September 1910: B I, p. 215.

³⁰⁴ Zweig to Herbert Steiner, 13 October 1910: B I, p. 216.

³⁰⁵ Stefan Zweig, 'Die Stimme [In Memoriam Josef Kainz]', *Neue Freie Presse* (3 January 1911), and in Zweig, *Begegnungen mit Menschen, Büchern, Städten*, pp. 146-153.

³⁰⁶ Hofmannsthal, 'Verse zum Gedächtnis Josef Kainz', in *Kritische Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, I: *Gedichte* 1, pp. 108-10.

reflection was published (M, p. 245). In some ways, Hofmannsthal's representation of an 'in der Erinnerung nicht stillzustellender schauspielerischer Verwandlungsfähigkeit', is reshaped and reinvigorated again in Zweig's remembrance.³⁰⁷

Zweig's anecdotal reflection begins with a disruption, 'plötzlich schrecke ich auf'. With nothing in sight, Zweig realizes what has intruded is 'das böse Schweigen der einsamen Nächte' and he sets upon breaking the silence and finding 'das Gefühl des Lebens' that only 'ein einziges atmend gesprochenes Wort' can provide. The narrator leaves the house and goes in search of that voice on the streets of Vienna but '[d]ie Welt scheint tot, das Schweigen hat sie ermordet'. The subtitle, 'In memoriam Josef Kainz', leaves little doubt that this anecdote is less about a single evening than a representation of the greatest loss to the culture, which is no more emphatically described than in this 'dead' world, 'murdered' by the nothingness in the actor's wake.

The narrator spots two figures in the distance and tries to approach in the hope that one will utter a word but they avoid him: 'Nichts! Sie schweigen. Verdrossen hasten sie nebeneinander, Schatten mit Schatten'. Here, the text echoes once again Zweig's letters, in which he laments what follows Kainz as 'Schatten und Puppen statt großer wirkender Menschen'. He ventures into one café where no one speaks to him and another whose 'lackierte Pracht' and its 'schrille Schreie von Farbe und glitzerndem Glas' is far from what he's searching for. A world without Kainz offers either nothing or cheap and gaudy culture, it seems. In this café he is shocked to find records of Josef Kainz' monologues, which, when played, break the silence and conjure, resurrect the actor. The voice, 'süß verwundend, wild aufreizend, schwermütig das Blut vergiftend', begins to materialize:

Ja, du Wundervolle, immer deutlicher erkenne ich dich wieder. Und jetzt, bei dieser Stelle sehe ich auf einmal sein Antlitz [...] Und jetzt, jetzt sehe ich ihn ganz, wie er's damals vor den Tausenden las, umbrandet vom Tumult des Lebens. Immer heller wird sein Bild an den Worten, immer näher fühl' ich ihn kommen [...] das Wort bricht zusammen, jählings, unvermutet, entsetzlich wie sein eigenes Leben...

It becomes a personal encounter with the deceased: 'Mystisches Gefühl: in tiefster Einsamkeit Zwiesprache zu halten mit einem geliebten Toten, ihn nah zu fühlen, seine Stimme zu hören!' The next record plays Kainz's rendition of Hamlet's monologue, 'To die, to sleep [...]', which,

³⁰⁷ See Franz Fromholzer, "'Josef Kainz zum Gedächtnis" (1910) und andere Schauspielergedichte', in *Hofmannsthal-Handbuch: Leben - Werk - Wirkung*, ed. by Mathias Mayer and Julian Werlitz (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2016), pp. 166-67.

spoken by a deceased voice, moves the narrator inexplicably, an emotion that is part of 'das Geheimnis dieser Nacht'. The experience described in this scene is unexpected, inexplicable but intimately personal, and it comforts the narrator, 'zu wissen, daß du heute noch Gewalt hast über die Menschen, Triumph trägst über den Tod hinaus'.

Ultimately, the tribute thanks Kainz for reappearing in the silence, in the 'triste Welt' left behind, and ends with a comforted narrator able to rest in the knowledge that such a voice still speaks to the next generation. Like 'Matkowskys Othello', 'Die Stimme' stages a performance and the experience of that performance, as a momentary glimpse of the power of these actors. Each eulogy therefore restricts the perspective to a single personal encounter and limits the eulogy's own constructive power. Rather, the flashes of remembered and repeated experiences and the vividness of these performers sustain the legacy themselves. The difference in conclusion between the two remains that, in Matkowsky's case, those evoked memories do not replicate the experience, which 'stirbt im Wort', whereas the reproduction of Kainz's voice is enough for a resurrection before the narrator. Such a distinction reflects the description Zweig was to give decades later in *Die Welt von Gestern*, essentially distinguishing Matkowsky's elemental passion from Kainz's art of speech.

These creative responses to the deaths of actors represent are unique in Zweig's eulogistic oeuvre. First, they were written before the end of the 'world of security', the pre-war era in which culture was predominant and the aesthete's position in Viennese society was stable. These eulogies did not need to incorporate a spirit of defence, which emerged in the aftermath of war. Zweig does not vouch for the posterity of these actors in an unrefined world because that world has not yet appeared in its full materialisation. It may be a silent, dead world, all the worse for the loss of Josef Kainz, but it is not hostile to such memories. The eulogy does immortalize but takes the immortalisation as guaranteed, if not also partial, serendipitous, or unsatisfactorily articulated.

Second, this lack of *responsibility* for the actors' legacy on a wider social stage allows for a personal approach. Zweig articulates an experience of performance and attempts to animate the emotional transformations and *reality* of Matkowsky and the oratorical brilliance of Kainz from the perspective of the observer/listener. The eulogies are therefore focused scenes that concentrate on an encounter with the deceased and do not offer biographical remarks.

Third, the strength of Zweig's presence in these eulogies makes for a dialogic encounter. Without the need to represent and shore up society, safe in the knowledge of the lasting cultural resonance of its stars, Zweig is left with the freedom to respond and remember creatively,

personally and perhaps authentically. The remembrances are therefore framed as personal impressions that hold back from constructing cultural memory. The deceased subjects are neither imitated nor quoted at length, only experienced. This allows for aspects not necessarily evident in later eulogies, including uncertainty ('Warum nun auf einmal spür' ich diese Worte in ihrer ganzen mystischen Gewalt? Ich kann's nicht erklären' ('Die Stimme'), and failure ('Denn was er lebte von Unsterblichkeiten / Ward nun zum Bild und stirbt in unserm Wort' ('Matkowsky's Othello').

10 The First World War Eulogies: Verhaeren, Rosegger, 'Nekrolog auf ein Hotel'

For Zweig, Emile Verhaeren reconciled Hippolyte Taine's cultural philosophy with a radical embrace of urban social and technological change, so that the poet was both 'der Triumph der belgischen und auch der europäischen Rasse' and creator of 'das Großstadtgedicht im dionysischen Sinn, den Hymnus an unsere Zeit, an Europa, die immer wieder erneute Ekstase an das Leben'.³⁰⁸ In contrast to the sense of decline pervasive in the fin-de-siècle, Verhaeren represents a *new pathos*, 'weil er die Stimme der Menge, der Städte und all der neuen Dinge nicht mehr als lyrisch-dichterische Hemmung empfand, sondern als Anruf, als rednerische Mahnung'.³⁰⁹ That 'Nationalgefühl [...] freilich ohne politische Motivation' influenced Zweig's initial enthusiastic patriotism at the outbreak of war, which he understood as an opportunity for 'eine freiwillige Entindividualisierung und ein willkommenes Aufgehen in der Masse des Volkes'.³¹⁰ Zweig's swift about-turn to pacifism was then also related to his early master, as the Belgian poet began expressing vitriolic hatred for German occupiers in his wartime work. This break from Verhaeren was a fundamental caesura in Zweig's aesthetic and political positions, as the diffuse ethnic-pantheistic aesthetic had become politicized. That once inspiring apolitical literary frenzy had become an antagonistic nationalism alien to Zweig's Europeanism. The First World War eulogies cannot be read without considering that aesthetic shift. If Zweig displayed a *lack* of responsibility for the legacy of the actors Matkowsky and Kainz, his war remembrances incorporate the beginnings of a moral responsibility that would infuse the future eulogies.

³⁰⁸ Stefan Zweig, GWE *Emile Verhaeren* (1984) p 21 and p. 74.

³⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 115.

³¹⁰ Stephan Resch, 'Publizistik zu Politik und Zeitgeschehen', in HB pp. 505-520 (pp. 506-08).

Emile Verhaeren (d. 27.11.1916)

Erinnerungen an Emile Verhaeren was published privately in a run of 100 copies and offered to a small society of friends; its text provides a counterpoint to Zweig's public texts. Its privacy is due to the intensely personal relationship and personal purpose of the reminiscence:

Ich schreibe es mir selbst zu Trost und Freude und weiß erst im Aufblättern der Erinnerung, wie dankschuldig mein ganzes Wesen ihm sein muß und die Tragik unseres Verlustes, die im ersten Erschrecken hart und schneidend war, löst sich mir in das dankbare Gefühl, einen solchen Menschen erlebt zu haben.³¹¹

To Ami Kaemmerer, he clarifies: 'Es enthält keine Geheimnisse, Anekdoten oder Intimitäten, daß ich [es] privat erscheinen lassen müßte, aber ich fühlte mich freier, sein Bild nur den Freunden zu zeichnen'. He continues by emphasising the unavoidable autobiographical element of an intimate portrait of a longstanding friend: 'es ist auch ein Stück eigenen Lebens, ein Blatt Dankbarkeit, das ich vom eigenen Baum in die Welt wehen lasse'.³¹² And, to Rolland, he adds that it should be 'un livre, qui n'est que pour les amis, une preuve sûre que je puisse leur donner de ma [!] affection et une preuve aussi, que l'amitié est de [!] beaucoup dans ma vie. Inutile d'évoquer la haute figure de Verhaeren à ceux qui ne l'ont pas connu: on ne créerait que des regrets'.³¹³ The *Erinnerungen* are therefore a personal consolation; an expression of gratitude; a lament for a tragic loss; an insight into the early biography of its author; and a display of affection and friendship to the recipients.³¹⁴

Zweig and Verhaeren had become estranged after the latter's poem 'La Belgique sanglante' hyperbolically suggested that German soldiers "often" dismembered Belgian children. Zweig was disconsolate at the transformation of someone who had taught him to find the positive and creative in life and who had represented European literary unity. The Belgian poet's initial hatred then gradually softened and by 1916 he transmitted through a mediator-friend his approval for Zweig's essay 'Der Turm zu Babel'. The message reached Zweig four weeks before Verhaeren's death and Zweig rued the 'destiny' of his accident at the moment at which he had learned the error of his ways. The fatalistic interpretation of Verhaeren's death is

³¹¹ Zweig to Rainer Maria Rilke, 23 April 1917: B II, p. 139.

³¹² Zweig to Ami Kaemmerer, 5 May 1917: B II, p. 141.

³¹³ Zweig to Romain Rolland, 30 January 1918: B II, p. 199.

³¹⁴ On the tenth anniversary of Verhaeren's death, Zweig's *Erinnerungen* were republished in a larger run of 440 copies, distributed through Insel Verlag. An excerpt was also published at the same time in the *Neuen Freien Presse* (12 November 1926).

misplaced considering, on the one hand, the suggestion of a gradual reversal of the poet's patriotism in 1916 through his proximity to Rolland, and, on the other hand, the scepticism that Verhaeren underwent such a reversal at all.³¹⁵ Zweig's second-hand reassurance is enough to paint over his mentor's aberration in his memory.

Verhaeren's patriotism is whitewashed in Zweig's initial mourning period, as he speaks of 'das *makellose* Leben eines Dichters' and how 'er hat mir gezeigt, wie man Freundschaft zum Fundament seines Lebens setzen soll'.³¹⁶ Friendship is exactly what Zweig himself renounced in favour of the national mass movement in his essay 'An die Freunde im Fremdland', in which he bid farewell to friends behind enemy lines to absorb himself in the growing German spirit. Likewise, Henri Guilbeaux remembers Verhaeren's own dismissal of his friendship with Zweig: 'il [Verhaeren] s'exprima à nouveau d'une manière très vive sur les Allemands [...] lorsque je citai le nom de Stefan Zweig [...] ses traits se durcissent et il me dit: "Je ne veux plus le voir..."'.³¹⁷ Zweig is at pains therefore to temper the hiatus in their friendship and prefers to think of its belated resumption: 'Er hat meiner vor einigen Wochen liebevoll gedacht, das tröstete mich damals schon und nun noch viel mehr'.³¹⁸ The long gestation of the remembrances is then down to the need to process personal loss and to do justice to the relationship: '[e]s ist mir nicht gegeben, flink zu sein in diesen Dingen [...]'. This display of mourning for a close friend, 'das Einzige, was mich jetzt beschäftigt', gives the eulogy a unique position, deliberately not a eulogy as such but a personal remembrance. Not only is the deceased figure uniquely close to Zweig amongst other subjects of eulogies but the death is situated at a point when Zweig attempts to articulate a new moral European position, which his former mentor foregrounded.

The literary context is also significant as Verhaeren died as Zweig was completing what he thought his most important work to date, the drama *Jeremias*. This retelling of the Jeremiah story as a tragic drama in prose and verse is the first of his works that he truly values, not for its literary qualities but for its moral drive, which helped him through two years of the war. *Jeremias* provided for Zweig 'die Umwandlung aller meiner Nöte',³¹⁹ suggesting a turning point was reached after its writing, at the point when he was prepared to write his memories of Verhaeren. Like *Tersites*, the later drama highlights the 'moralische[] Überlegenheit des

³¹⁵ Fabrice van de Kerckhove, 'Introduction', *Émile et Marthe Verhaeren, Stefan Zweig (1900-1926)*, ed. by Fabrice van de Kerckhove (Brussels: Labor, 1996), pp. 85-87.

³¹⁶ Zweig to Romain Rolland, 5 December 1916: B II, pp. 124-125, my emphasis.

³¹⁷ Van der Kerckhove, p. 87.

³¹⁸ Zweig to Romain Rolland, 5 December 1916: B II, pp. 124-125.

³¹⁹ Zweig to Romain Rolland, in Eva Plank, 'Jeremias', in HB, pp. 128-134 (p. 129).

Unterliegenden',³²⁰ through a Jeremiah figure that also stood for the pacifist in the First World War, or more broadly for the situation of humanism subordinated to aggressive partisanship. The curative process of writing *Jeremias* is an important backdrop to Zweig's response to Verhaeren's death, as it marks the moment where 'zum erstenmal hatte ich das Gefühl, gleichzeitig aus mir selbst zu sprechen und aus der Zeit' (WVG, p. 274).

Zweig begins by lamenting his distance from Verhaeren at the moment of his death, a moment 'da die Sprache mit einemmal zwischen den Völkern eine Grenze ward und die Heimat ein Gefängnis'.³²¹ While contemporary society only allows for hatred between nations, 'doch die Trauer, sie, die im Tiefsten und Unzugänglichsten der Seele wohnt, wer kann sie verjagen, und die Erinnerung, wer vermag ihre heilige Flut zu dämmen, die das Herz mit warmer Welle überströmt!'. All present-day violence is contrasted to 'Erinnerungen' and 'die Vergangenheit', 'sie ist jedem unantastbar, und ihre schönsten Tage strahlen, lichte Kerzen, in das Dunkel unserer Tage und auf diese Blätter, die ich für Verhaeren niederschreibe, ihm zum Gedächtnis und mir selber zum Trost'.³²² *Erinnerungen* gives Zweig a chance to escape the corrupting present into a past that remains fixed, 'untouchable'.

This streaming light of the untouched past triggers personal anecdotes and this metaphorical clarity frames the memories as clear truths, but also as bright consolatory episodes in dark times. Memory is a process, in which one scene leads him to a constellation of others: 'Erinnerungen jener Zeit, der guten und großen Zeit, kaum habe ich sie gerufen und schon drängen hundertfältig sie sich an, Tage und Stunden, Episoden und Worte, unendlicher, stürmischer Schwarm vor dem erinnernden Blick!'.³²³ Zweig's text enacts the proliferative idea of memory as he relives his relationship with Verhaeren, attempting to capture the sweep of past experiences and the individual moments in a process of coming to terms. 'Wie rasch flossen sie vorbei, diese Tage, und wie stark noch ist ihre Strömung mir heute unveränderlich im Herzen! O wie viel noch vermöchte ich zu erzählen, denn unvergeßlich sind ihre Einzelheiten [...]'.³²⁴ Zweig's mourning-work figures in a dialogue with his memories: 'Erinnerungen, Erinnerungen, ihr mächtig anströmenden, wie euch dämmen? [...] O ihr vielen, vielen Fahrten im Gespräch, im Waggon, auf der Wanderschaft, was drängt ihr euch vor, ihr vergangenem! Nicht bedarf ich eures Drängens zur Liebe, nicht eurer Mahnung zum Gedächtnis!'.³²⁵ Zweig

³²⁰ Plank, p. 131.

³²¹ Reprinted in Stefan Zweig, *GWE Emile Verhaeren*, pp. 251-315 (p. 253).

³²² Ibid., p. 253.

³²³ Ibid., pp. 303-04.

³²⁴ Ibid., p. 306

³²⁵ Ibid., pp. 304-05.

rejects the urgent flow of memories, referring to his authoritative grasp on events that remain clear.

Zweig is eventually absorbed into the stream of memories until he is momentarily returned to the past to live one last moment in the presence of his friend. He sets the scene: 'Wieder bin ich in Caillou-qui-bique, es ist Sommer, es ist Nachmittag', and the tense changes to the present tense of live experience. Verhaeren and his wife go out for a walk and Zweig watches on as they drift into the afternoon sun, 'bis ihre Gestalten im Wald verschwinden wie in einer fernen Zeit'.³²⁶ This rewrites Verhaeren's death, setting it away from the urban centre, where Verhaeren actually died, and away from war in an ideal scene, at which Zweig is present. Like the scenes depicted in 'Matkowskys Othello' and 'Die Stimme', this present-tense encounter works to install the reader in the animated proximity of the venerated figure. Unlike those two creative eulogies, however, the encounter is not a means of showing an inherent, resonating, self-sustaining legacy. *Erinnerungen* is a reminiscing escape to an ideal, crystal-clear past, 'der Begriff der Idylle, der sonst leicht etwas Künstliches und Literarisches meint, hier ward er mir kristallen klar'.

Erinnerungen is a personal story. He sets this out at the beginning:

Nur mir selbst schreibe ich diese Blätter, und von den Freunden sind nur jene gewählt, die ihn selbst kannten und liebten. [...] Für mich nur und diese Nächsten erwecke ich heute das Bild eines Menschen, der so innig meinem Leben verbunden ist, daß ich das seine nicht darzustellen vermag, ohne mein eigenes Leben darin mitgestaltet zu fühlen. Und ich weiß: mit der Erinnerung an den großen verlorenen Freund erzähle ich meine eigene Jugend.³²⁷

The letters suggest the text is personal first as a means of consolation and this passage expands on that to emphasize the overlap between the lives, so that a description of Verhaeren carries within it a description of Zweig's youth. On the one hand, the focus on the personal and its deliberate exclusion from the public are the conditions for a remembrance unencumbered by the duty to construct a legacy in the service of any ideological purpose. The duty remains solely to the deceased himself: 'keine reinere Einheit von Wesen und Wert gegeben als ihn, den als Lebendigen zu lieben meine innigste Freude und den als Toten zu verehren meine zwingendste Pflicht geblieben ist'.³²⁸ On the other hand, the recollection of a once estranged friend through

³²⁶ Ibid., pp. 306-07.

³²⁷ Ibid., pp. 253-54.

³²⁸ Ibid., p. 256.

the filter of a devoted apprentice risks making a complicated history too coherent. A tendency to harmonize emerges where Zweig's distinct memories are cloaked in atmospheres: 'wie eine einzige tiefe, selige Sommerstunde sind diese fünf Sommer in meiner Erinnerung',³²⁹ or, 'Als Ganzes fühle ich euch, so sehr mir das einzelne gewärtig ist, als selige Lehrjahre des Herzens, als erste Erkenntnis menschlicher Meisterschaft'.³³⁰ The personalized narrative was ultimately romanticized in the opinion of Verhaeren's widow, who 'n'aime guère [le livre]: notamment, semble-t-il, parce que Zweig y donne une image par trop fausse et pittoresque de leur modeste train de vie: Verhaeren en sabots!'³³¹

The war reappears at the end of the text in a short passage that treats the two-year-long break between the two authors without pointing to Verhaeren's patriotic aggression and without questioning Zweig's own war response:

Der feurige Vorhang war zwischen uns gefallen. Von Land zu Land gab es keine Brücke mehr. Was einstmals in allen Nerven und Gedanken freundschaftlich verbunden war, sollte sich nun Feind nennen (nie, nicht eine Stunde habe ich es vermocht!), die Stimmen der Vertrauten erreichten einander nicht mehr, nichts wußte man voneinander in den ersten Zeiten, in den ersten Monaten dieses apokalyptischen Jahres, alle Stimmen waren zerbrochen im Getöse der niederstürzenden Welt. Endlich vernahm ich seine, vernahm die Stimme Verhaerens durch den Qualm, und kaum erkannte ich sie mehr, so fremd, so gellend schien sie mir im Haß, die ich immer nur in Güte und reiner Leidenschaft gekannt.³³²

Zweig incorrectly insists he was unable to call his friends enemies considering his 1914 declaration, 'Ihr seid mir fern in diesen Tagen, seid mir fremd [...]'.³³³ 'Ich habe damals geschwiegen, öffentlich und im Stillen', he continues in *Erinnerungen*, suggesting he did not involve himself in either side of the public literary debate. Like Zweig (but he does not admit it here), Verhaeren himself is able to redeem his own errors, a redemption that Zweig knew would happen: 'ich wußte, daß er, stark genug war, sich selbst wieder zu bezwingen. Ich wußte, daß der Haß in diesem Menschen, dessen höchster Sinn die Versöhnung war, nicht dauerhaft sein könne [...]'.³³⁴ Learning of Verhaeren's admiration for his 'Der Turm zu Babel', Zweig writes, 'daß

³²⁹ Ibid., p. 280.

³³⁰ Ibid., p. 304.

³³¹ Van der Kerckhove, p. 91.

³³² Zweig, 'Erinnerungen an Emile Verhaeren', pp. 312-13.

³³³ Zweig, 'An die Freunde im Fremdland', p. 42.

³³⁴ Zweig, 'Erinnerungen an Emile Verhaeren', p. 313.

nun der Schleier zerrissen sei, der seinen Blick getrübt', and Verhaeren's image is rescued for a coherent *Erinnerungen*, which ultimately serve Zweig's personal consolation.

Erinnerungen an Emile Verhaeren ends where it begins, with the idea that the eulogist and the eulogized are one. Such a unification obscures the actual history around 1914, so that Verhaeren's and Zweig's paths towards European collaboration become unproblematic. It leaves their obvious wartime differences unresolved and avoids problematising Verhaeren's almost ethno-nationalist pathos that mutated into an aggressive patriotism. As a vehicle for Zweig's self-consolation, the text is unabashedly personal and harmonious. It enacts a curative process of mourning that explicitly places the eulogist at the centre and in the image of the eulogized.

Und doch, ich vermochte es nicht; etwas in mir weigerte sich noch, Abschied zu nehmen von einem, der in mir lebt als blutgewordenes Beispiel meiner Existenz, meines irdischen Glaubens. Und je mehr ich mir sagte, daß er tot sei, um so mehr fühlte ich, wieviel von ihm noch in mir atmet und lebt, und gerade diese Worte, die ich schreibe, von ihm Abschied zu nehmen für immer, haben mir ihn selbst wieder lebendig gemacht. Denn erst die Erkenntnis großen Verlustes weist des Vergänglichen wahren Besitz. Und nur die unvergeßlichen Toten sind uns ganz lebendig!³³⁵

The very process of uttering these words has made Verhaeren alive once again in his memory. Their symbiosis in this text allows the same for the author, that is, the very process of uttering these words makes Zweig alive once again. Like Zweig's description of finishing his *Jeremias* before *Erinnerungen*, this remembrance continues a long process of coming to terms with the war, the rupture to a cosmopolitan existence and a new approach to writing.

Peter Rosegger (d. 20.06.1918)

The eulogy for the prolific writer and literary representative of rural Austria Peter Rosegger clearly marks Zweig's changed attitude to the concept of an 'Austrian' literature, a category he had resisted recognizing as usefully distinct from German literature: 'da die entscheidende Stunde gezeigt hat, daß Deutschland Einheit ist und seine Sprache uns allen nur gegeben, um diese Einheit liebend und gläubig zu bezeugen'.³³⁶ In the eulogy for Rosegger, Zweig adopts the

³³⁵ Ibid., pp. 314-15.

³³⁶ Evelyn Polt-Heinzl, 'Über österreichische Literatur', in HB, pp. 526-536 (p. 533).

occasional Austrianism in his language and situates his subject firmly in his Styrian heritage. Rosegger begins an 'unbeholfener klobiger Bauernbub aus einem steririschen Älperdorf' and develops into a 'dichtende Bauernbub aus der Steiermark' before becoming 'der Liebling des Deutschen Volkes'.³³⁷ Universal success amounts to recognition by the German people in contrast to popularity in rural Austria, 'ein milder gütiger Greis, Welt und Zeit mit stiller Weisheit von eben demselben steirischen Heimatswinkel umfassend'.³³⁸

Zweig questions the lack of recognition for Rosegger amongst the literati but, as Polt-Heinzl points out, in order to pose that question at all, 'musste Zweig Roseggers Antisemitismus und seine Kriegsbegeisterung ausblenden'.³³⁹ Zweig writes,

Wo sonst der Name eines Dichters nie eindringt, in die kleinen Stuben, [...] sprach man seinen Namen mit Ehrfurcht aus, seine Zeitschrift "Der Heimgarten" (die vielleicht kaum in zehn Exemplaren in die Großstädte dringt) war dort Hauspostille und Unzähligen seit vierzig Jahren darin sein Wort Meinung und Gesetz. [...] Die Literatur kümmerte sich um seine Bücher nicht mehr, wertete sie kaum.³⁴⁰

Zweig ignores the fact that 'Roseggers "Wort" eben auch "Meinung und Gesetz" des christlichsozialen Antisemitismus und Antimodenrismus festschreiben half'.³⁴¹ Rosegger's engagement with anti-Semitism was well-documented and, if not as extreme as others', explicit enough to have garnered the criticism of those around him as well as those further afield.³⁴² Rosegger once declared in *Heimgarten*: 'Ihr habt uns Vorwürfe darüber gemacht, daß wir das Judentum protegieren. Wir wollen zu eurem Troste öffentlich sagen, daß auch wir Anti-semiten sind – nur auf unsere Weise, die den Menschen schont, aber seine Laster verfolgt'.³⁴³

Zweig's silence on Rosegger's Anti-Semitism makes his judgement of the writer's merits awkward. 'War er groß als Dichter, war er klein? [...] 'Die Frage geht vorbei an einem solchen Menschen. Ich mag da nicht werten und richten. Ich weiß nur, daß ich ein Gedicht von ihm sehr liebe'.³⁴⁴ The hesitation to judge differentiates Zweig from an ignorant literary public who have

³³⁷ 'Peter Rosegger: Zum Tode des Dichters', *National-Zeitung* (Basel), 27 June 1918, also in Zweig, *Europäisches Erbe*, ed. by Richard Friedenthal (Frankfurt am Main: S Fischer, 1960), pp. 209-213 (pp. 209-210).

³³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

³³⁹ Polt-Heinzl, p. 533-534.

³⁴⁰ Zweig, 'Oeter Rosegger', p. 210.

³⁴¹ Polt-Heinzl, p. 534.

³⁴² Eva Philippoff, *Peter Rosegger: Dichter der verlorenen Scholle. Eine Biographie* (Graz: Verlag Styria, 1993), pp. 128-135.

³⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

³⁴⁴ Zweig, 'Peter Rosegger', p. 212.

condemned him to oblivion. In contrast, he presents himself both as able to appreciate the wisdom of the 'der alte Heimgärtner' and as trusting of the sound judgement of the 'Volk': 'Ich weiß viele, für die man Verehrung hat. Aber Vertrauen des Volkes: das hat nur dieser besessen, der Petri Kettenfeier Rosegger, der jetzt in seinem Dörfel in Steiermark gestorben ist'.³⁴⁵ This sanitized image of Rosegger forms part of a strategy to support a 'European humanism in its Austrian example'.³⁴⁶ Yet it also exposes Zweig's, and the genre's, tendency to sacrifice nuance for affirmation in a textual space designated for commemoration above contestation. As he writes in *Erinnerungen an Emile Verhaeren*, '[n]ie hat mich und nie wird mich jemand dazu vermögen, den Richter oder den Tadler zu spielen über einen, der mir Meister war [...]'.³⁴⁷

'Nekrolog auf ein Hotel' (13.07.1918)

Zweig's growing interest in politics was aided by his move to Zürich at the end of 1917 and his access to Swiss publications. Amidst the political activity, Zweig wrote a eulogy for the Hotel Schwert in Zürich, where he had stayed intermittently. The hotel is remembered in the memoirs in the context of a vibrant city of intellectual encounters: 'Von Schriftstellern und Politikern fanden sich solche aller Schattierungen und Sprachen zusammen [...] ich begegnete Männern aller Nationen in meinem alten ›Hotel Schwerdt‹, wo Casanova und Goethe zu ihrer Zeit schon abgestiegen' (WVG, p. 295). The chapter on Switzerland in *Die Welt von Gestern* culminates with the hope of a new beginning: 'Denn jetzt war doch endlich Raum auf Erden für das langversprochene Reich der Gerechtigkeit und Brüderlichkeit [...] Eine andere Welt war im Anbeginn' (WVG, p. 302). Despite the excitement for change, Zweig does not welcome the imminent transformation of the Hotel Schwert into a tax office. In this eulogy, Zweig presents the beginnings of a nostalgia more familiar in his later work and the regrets that accompany the hope of a post-war, post-imperial Austria.

Zweig warns, 'Mit solchen Häusern geht viel von der Seele einer Stadt dahin, und was die eine Generation noch leicht hingibt, empfindet die nächste schon als Schmerz'.³⁴⁸ That soul is a dense history of visits from the most important European figures over seven centuries. Zweig's stay there was inspired 'vielleicht nur aus dem Gefühl der Vergeblichkeit des Wunsches, vielleicht aus tiefeingewachsenen, im Blut ererbten Vorvätererinnerungen, die dies in uns als

³⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 212.

³⁴⁶ Gelber, 'Stefan Zweig as (Austrian) Eulogist', p. 153.

³⁴⁷ Zweig, 'Erinnerungen an Emile Verhaeren', p. 313.

³⁴⁸ Stefan Zweig, 'Nekrolog auf ein Hotel', *National-Zeitung* (Basel), 13 July 1918, also in GWE *Auf Reisen. Feuilletons und Berichte* (1987), pp. 226-231 (p. 226).

heimatlich lieben, ohne daß wir es wissen'. The fact that 'fast alle ausländischen Künstler' tended to stay there during the war was a reason for its attraction and '[m]it jedem Tage wäre es ehrwürdiger geworden'.³⁴⁹ For Zweig, Zürich has lost 'ein Teil ihrer Stadtseele, ein kostbares Stück Tradition' and that because of the indiscriminate destructiveness of war: 'ein leidenschaftlicher Zerstörer auch des Immateriellen, der Erwartungen und Hoffnungen. Er zerstampft die Traditionen mit seiner eisernen Sohle'.³⁵⁰

Hotels are often non-places, temporary or fugitive spaces, where identity is unimportant and suspended. Hotels are symbols for urban modernity for their alienation and impersonality but, on another, for the potential 'flüchtige Begegnungen und Biographien in der Anonymität'.³⁵¹ In contrast, Zweig writes of a sense of familiarity and Heimat in the Hotel Schwert that is linked to its historical ghosts that remain in the atmosphere. In the company of European cultural heritage (he names Mozart, Goethe and Casanova) and the contemporary thinkers of a new world, 'so hatte man nicht das peinliche Gefühl der Fremdheit'.³⁵² A memory of the hotel's hospitality to 'foreigners' reveals Zweig's uncertainty towards a new life and identity. The Hotel Schwert becomes a symbol of tradition and cosmopolitan intellectual encounters from the Enlightenment to 1918, where 'nie mehr ist mir ein vielfarbigeres und leidenschaftlicheres Gemenge von Meinungen und Menschen in so konzentrierter und gleichsam dampfender Form begegnet' (WVG, p. 296). By transforming this symbol of cultural cooperation into a place of financial bureaucracy, a symbol of modernity, that rich historical presence is flattened and replaced by an anonymous present.

In marking this reflection out as a eulogy, Zweig points beyond the walls of the actual hotel to lament the potential loss of greater things: tradition, cultural memory, and a way of being. His celebration of the coming peace is tempered by an already extant nostalgia for the ways of the past. These are traces of a nostalgia and a call to remember echo throughout his historiographical essays, which re-animate a cultural pantheon, an exercise which continues in his eulogies, amongst which 'Nekrolog auf ein Hotel' certainly deserves a place.

³⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 228.

³⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 230.

³⁵¹ Hansjörg Held, *Hotelketten und deren Einfluss auf die Stadtentwicklung* (Hamburg: Diplomica Verlag, 2011), p. 7.

³⁵² Zweig, 'Nekrolog auf ein Hotel', p. 229.

11 The Post-War Eulogies: Lammasch, Fried, Rathenau

Zweig's engagement in pacifism intensified in his time in Zürich from November 1917 onwards, due to his relative freedom from service – he was officially the Swiss correspondent for the *Neue Freie Presse* – and due to his immediate integration into a society of anti-war thinkers. His reminiscence of the atmosphere in Zürich captures something of the ambiguity of his politics and his retrospection.

Keiner sah in dieser bezauberten Welt mehr die Landschaft, die Berge, die Seen und ihren milden Frieden; man lebte in Zeitungen, in Nachrichten und Gerüchten, in Meinungen, in Auseinandersetzungen. Und sonderbar: man lebte geistig den Krieg hier eigentlich intensiver mit als in der kriegführenden Heimat, weil sich das Problem gleichsam objektiviert und vom nationalen Interesse an Sieg oder Niederlage völlig losgelöst hatte. Man sah ihn von keinem politischen Standpunkt mehr, sondern vom europäischen als ein grausames und gewaltiges Geschehnis, das nicht nur ein paar Grenzlinien auf der Landkarte, sondern Form und Zukunft unserer Welt verwandeln sollte. (WVG, p. 296)

While distance from the front in an internationalist community relativized the brute political reality, Zürich was not a space where politics was subordinated or secondary. Zweig's suggestion that there was a purely *intellectual* engagement with the war risks downplaying the potential for material change that such discussions were intended to elicit. At this political moment, Zweig's interlocutors, particularly Alfred Fried and Romain Rolland, often stop short of supporting his positions, precisely because his arguments elide the political and pragmatic aspects of the discussion. The tension between a *Realpolitik* and the moral humanism espoused by Zweig also exists in the eulogies he wrote for three of the most significant political figures of the early twentieth century: Heinrich Lammasch, Alfred Hermann Fried, and Walther Rathenau.

Jeremias formulated Zweig's moral position and his re-reading of Bertha von Suttner's work transposed the legend into the reality of the pacifist: 'Sie aber [...] hatte einsam die tragische Mission übernommen, die ewige Aufstörerin zu sein, unbequem ihrer Zeit wie Cassandra in Troja, wie Jeremias in Jerusalem. Sie hatte sich heroisch entschlossen, lieber im Gelächter der Menschen zu leben als in Trägheit des Herzens'.³⁵³ The last lines indicate his commitment to political engagement: '[...] ihr Beispiel zeigt wunderbar beseelt, daß man nur

³⁵³ 'Bertha von Suttner', in *Begegnungen* (1937), pp. 195-203, here p. 202.

dann ins Lebendige wirkt, wenn man aus einem Leben eine Überzeugung macht und aus einer Überzeugung ein Leben'.³⁵⁴ Having an effect 'ins Lebendige' characterizes Zweig's activity over the next months in Zürich, enabled by his connection to von Suttner's successor as editor of the journal *Friedens-Warte*, Alfred Hermann Fried.

Fried encouraged Zweig to contribute to a special issue of *Friedens-Warte* and Zweig composed *Bekanntnis zum Defaitismus*, 'im Kern eine Fortführung der im *Jeremias* entworfenen Ideen von der moralischen Überlegenheit des Besiegten und eines Pazifismus, der sich allein an ethischen Grundsätzen orientiert'.³⁵⁵ Zweig calls for the re-appropriation of the term 'defeatist' as a sign of a 'radical humanism' distinct from and privileged over politics and ideology. Rolland disagreed, 'Mieux vaudrait être encore actif que passif dans le mal! [...] Je ne me résigne nullement à être vaincu. Et je ne le conseillerai jamais aux autres.'³⁵⁶ Fried also denies defeatism can achieve beyond a superficial and temporary easing of suffering.³⁵⁷ In response, Zweig suggests that in a choice between *humanity* and *idea*, the former had to be privileged.³⁵⁸ While these exchanges were amicable and highlighted mostly shared ground, intellectuals often charge Zweig with idealism and political naivety.

Heinrich Lammasch (d. 06.01.1920)

No studies exist on the significance of Heinrich Lammasch, the first Austrian Minister-President, to Zweig. *Die Welt von Gestern* describes Zweig's visit to Lammasch, who wanted to meet the author of *Jeremias*. Lammasch reveals he has been pushing secretly for an Austrian declaration of neutrality, for peace with the allies, and a split from German alliance. Zweig represents Lammasch in direct speech: 'Wir haben mehr als eine Million Tote. Wir haben genug geopfert und getan! Jetzt kein Menschenleben, kein einziges mehr für die deutsche Weltherrschaft!' (WVG, p. 281). No such revelation appears in any other source but the two political actors meet on several occasions. In November 1916, Zweig has the opportunity 'de parler à plusieurs reprises au principal représentant d'une science presque disparue, le Droit des Peuples'. Lammasch inspires respect and is 'au-dessus de la mêlée', while others are consumed by their

³⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 203.

³⁵⁵ Stephan Resch, 'Umwege auf dem Wege zum Frieden: Die Korrespondenz zwischen Stefan Zweig und Alfred H. Fried', in *Stefan Zweig. Neue Forschung*, ed. by Karl Müller (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2012), pp. 109-176 (p. 112-114).

³⁵⁶ Romain Rolland to Zweig, 14 July 1918: *Romain Rolland - Stefan Zweig. Correspondance 1910-1919*, ed. by Jean-Yves Brancy (Paris: Editions Albin Michel, 2014), p. 467, hereafter referenced "RR-SZ".

³⁵⁷ Alfred Fried, 'Die Suche nach dem Vernunftmeridian', *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 989 (28 July 1918).

³⁵⁸ Zweig, 'Die Entwertung der Ideen', in GWE *Die schlaflose Welt* (1983), pp. 126-31.

passions. 'Cela m'a fait du bon de voir un tel homme', writes Zweig, convinced of Lammasch's future importance: 'J'y pense encore avec émotion'.³⁵⁹

Lammasch is soon under fire but Zweig resists writing in his support: 'Je ne veux plus souiller mes mains avec ce mélange affreux d'encre, de sang et d'argent qu'on nomme politique.'³⁶⁰ Zweig sees his own resistance towards active political insertion in Lammasch and accounts for the leader's hesitation to act in the war's last days.

Chez nous, on attend notre ami Lammasch. Il refuse tenacement jusqu'à présent. Comme je le comprends; il sait bien que de la matière fragile des hommes, on ne peut pas construire une œuvre juste. Et lui c'est la justice qu'il veut; élever une image platonicienne de la communion des peuples et laisser bâtir les autres. La politique a besoin de lui, de son prestige, et il ne veut pas le prêter à des œuvres labiles; il n'a pas le petit orgueil de devenir président du Conseil, même pas celui d'entrer dans l'Histoire. Il veut la justice, qui vit en dehors de la réalité.³⁶¹

Zweig's admiration for Lammasch's distaste for power and what he calls a justice *outside of reality* drew scepticism from Rolland: 'Si ceux qui voient mieux et plus loin que les autres se retirent de l'action commune, ils sont un peu responsables des erreurs que les autres, laissés à eux-mêmes, ne pourront éviter'.³⁶² Zweig published an article on Lammasch as the new Minister-President, which bears the narrative of the eulogy written soon after. Power has fallen on Lammasch, who 'hat die politische Macht nicht gesucht', but whose opinion carried historical weight as 'Friedensprophet'. Years of persecution and suspicion did not make Lammasch bitter, only built his resolve towards his sole objective, 'den ewigen Frieden'. Zweig projects no easy success for a leader who must navigate the 'Trümmerfeld seiner Vorgänger' but he has faith 'daß hier ein reiner, ungebrochener und unzerbrechlicher Wille die Versöhnung der Völker will'.³⁶³ Lammasch supported Austrian neutrality in the post-war negotiations and he was sidelined from Austrian politics. Zweig's pessimism for the 'devoir impossible à accomplir' was confirmed.³⁶⁴

³⁵⁹ 10 November 1916: RR-SZ, p. 334.

³⁶⁰ 23 March 1918: RR-SZ, p. 421.

³⁶¹ 4-14 November 1918: RR-SZ, p. 494.

³⁶² 14 November 1918, RR-SZ, p. 496.

³⁶³ Stefan Zweig, 'Heinrich Lammasch', *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (29 October 1918), p. 1.

³⁶⁴ 27 January 1919, RR-SZ, pp. 544-545.

Lammasch's death in 1920 affected Zweig greatly but the lack of attention afforded the deceased by the press and at the funeral itself made it worse. Zweig attended the funeral at which only five others were present and wrote to Alfred Fried:

Was sich die österreichischen Zeitungen an Schweigen und kühler Gleichgültigkeit geleistet haben, ist wirklich beispiellos und besten Falles erinnerten sie sich an den grossen Juristen der gestorben war. [...] Dass beim Leichenbegräbnis **kein** war, schrieb ich Ihnen schon teils war es Gleichgültigkeit, teils feige Angst für monarchisch gehalten zu werden. [...] Ich habe einiges über seinem Hingang geschrieben und hoffe dass es auch erschienen wird. (Ich sandte es dem Berliner Tageblatt, man weiß ja aber nie wie weit die politische Feigheit heute geht). Das richtige wäre, ihm eine Art Sonderheft zu widmen oder eine Gedächtnisbrochure, es würden sich ja jetzt genug Menschen des Auslandes finden, wenn schon das Inland in so erbärmlichen Schweigen verblieb.³⁶⁵

Zweig's eulogy did appear in the *Berliner Tageblatt* two weeks after the death, albeit with a caveat from the editors distancing the paper's position from the author's, such was the eulogy's disdain for the political class.³⁶⁶ 'Heinrich Lammaschs Heimgang' begins with a desolate picture of a 'graue[n] Januarstag in Salzburg' where 'Nirgends eine dunkle Fahne gehitzt, keine Neugier, keine Frage [...] Kein Vertreter der Regierung [...] kein Zeichen, kein Wort öffentlicher Trauer, gleichgültig und fremd die unbelehrte Stadt'.³⁶⁷ That nothingness around Lammasch's internment continues throughout the summary of his tragic life, as all his heroic devotion to peace in Europe went 'unbelohnt und unerkannt'.

Zweig depicts a world leader who preferred to keep his distance from the fray but was 'innig verbunden mit den ersten Staatsmännern und Gelehrten der Welt, die in ihm die Autorität des Wissens und der moralischen Unbeugsamkeit verehrten'. Lammasch's unshakeable moral resolve is akin to Zweig's later Erasmus portrayal, where a distance from action is a consequence of privileging moral authority. Lammasch's isolation is both lamented *and* celebrated in other words. That this isolation leads to a lack of recognition and the literal isolation at the funeral is

³⁶⁵ Zweig to Alfred Fried, 15 January 1920: in Resch, 'Umwege', p. 148.

³⁶⁶ An official commemoration for Lammasch was held later in 1920 by the *Völkerbundliga* with contributions from Ignaz Seipel and Karl Renner. See Georg Cavallar, 'Eye-deep in Hell: Heinrich Lammasch, the Confederation of Neutral States and Austrian Neutrality', in *Neutrality in Twentieth-Century Europe: Intersections of Science, Culture, and Politics after the First World War*, ed. by Rebecka Lettevall, Geert Somsen, and Sven Widmalm (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 273-294 (p. 287).

³⁶⁷ Stefan Zweig, 'Heinrich Lammaschs Heimgang', *Berliner Tageblatt* (20 January 1920), pp. 2-3.

lamented, but it acts as emphatic proof of the tragedy of moral superiority, the major lesson from *Jeremias*.

Zweig depicts an absolute opposition between 'der große Einsame' Lammasch, and the 'Kriegstreibern'. Politicians, the army and the press steered away from him, leaving him once again alone, but the fickle nature of politics meant that '[a]ber bald begannen sie ihn zu umscharen'. The absoluteness of Zweig's descriptions does not allow for complex situations. The emphasis in the eulogy on Lammasch's isolation has a function in the tragic narrative, a function that effects a starker interpretation of the reality. The abandonment of the international figure at the funeral and in the press is the scene that Zweig renders continuous throughout Lammasch's political life, as representative of a coherent tragic narrative.

The final paragraph posits Lammasch's immortality: 'In diesem Menschen ist eine Idee besiegt worden, nicht er selbst'. That his many ideas 'nicht Tat werden' is of less importance to Zweig since 'wir wissen um das Unsichtbare, das unendlich kostbare, das der reine Mensch in der Politik atmosphärisch verbreitet, und das dauerhafter ist als jeder Traktat und Vertrag'. The value is placed not on the efficacy and manifestation of his ideas, rather on the possibility that their purity will remain diffuse amidst future political thought. Lastly, Zweig issues a reproach of the political class:

Mögen ihn hochmütig die Politiker von den Zinnen ihrer Partei belächeln, weil er einsam ging und so einsam begraben ward, ohne Fahne und Kranz – wir wiederum belächeln die Politiker, zutiefst sie bemitleidend, daß sie das Glück reinen Glaubens nicht kennen, den reinen Willen über die Wirklichkeiten hinaus, der einen Mann wie diesen Heinrich Lammasch beseelte. Wir sind stolz und sind glücklich, diesen großen Besiegten einer irren Welt gekannt zu haben und erkannt in der ganzen Tiefe seiner geistigen Güte und heroischen Menschlichkeit.

Zweig presents the story of Lammasch as friend and follower through his much-articulated defeatism. 'Der große Einsame' ends up as 'diese[r] große[] Besiegte[]' and his isolation is elevated to a heroic distance above a corrupted world. The bluster of the reproach is consistent with the expression in Zweig's correspondence and likewise the effusive praise and hope invested in Lammasch.

Die Güte seines Wesens, die Freiheit seiner Aussprache waren mir und manchem in jener Zeit des Wahnsinns unvergeßliches Glück: im Aufblick zu ihm fühlte sich

jeder erstarrt und die Hoffnung, die an sein Wesen und Wirken sich band,
umschlingt noch heute die Idee, die er, reiner wie jeder andere, ganz gewesen.

There is an echo here of his private words, '[c]ela m'a fait du bon de voir un tel homme', and the reassurance in the representation of an intellectual exponent of moral defeatism.

Alfred Fried (d. 05.05.1921)

Zweig's eulogy for Alfred Hermann Fried in the *Neue Freie Presse* was reproduced, less two minor edits, in *Friedens-Warte* at the request of Fried's widow. Resch incorrectly suggests the second eulogy is an expansion of the first, as he misses the second two pages of the *NFP* piece. This leads Resch to describe the feuilleton eulogy as 'austauschbar, manchmal beinahe phrasenhaft' and 'schnell skizziert', offering as a possible excuse Zweig's busy literary agenda. Resch reads the *Friedens-Warte* eulogy – which is the same as the first eulogy – as a more personal tribute to a pacifist peer but raises justified misgivings about Zweig's narrative.³⁶⁸ The point remains that the text represents a substantial engagement with the loss of Alfred Fried, for all its clichéd eulogy formulations. This is evident in Zweig's urgency to publicly bid farewell to his friend: 'Ich wollte auch noch sehr gerne öffentlich über ihn ein Wort sagen und über das was er uns Allen und den Jahren war'.³⁶⁹ Zweig felt responsible to articulate Fried's legacy for the future of European humanism.

In 'Dem Gedächtnis Alfred H. Frieds', Zweig employs the same tragic framing as his tribute to Lammasch. In another representative of a pacifist movement doomed to fail in the face of power politics, Zweig sees 'ein Besiegter gestorben':

sterbend mußte er noch miterleben, wie statt der Bindung der Staaten, die er erstrebte, sie neuerlich in Feindlichkeit sich zerstückten. Es ist Tragik in seinem Schicksal gewesen, so und endlich viel Tragik, daß sie seine eigentlich bescheidene und vergängliche Gestalt zu wirklicher Größe und zu dauerndem Gedächtnis erhebt.³⁷⁰

Zweig depicts a defunct movement in the post-war climate, 'lange hat er [Fried] nicht viel gegolten', as his work is 'von den Weisen mitleidig belächelt, von den Witzigen verspottet, von

³⁶⁸ Resch, 'Umwege', p. 124.

³⁶⁹ Zweig to the editors of the *Neue Freie Presse*, 6 May 1921: in Resch, 'Umwege', p. 154.

³⁷⁰ Stefan Zweig, 'Dem Gedächtnis Alfred H. Frieds', *Neue Freie Presse* (13 May 1921), 1-3 (p.1).

den Mächtigen verachtet und schließlich von den Tollwütigen zerstört gesehen'.³⁷¹ Zweig's impulse to heighten the achievements of the deceased to sharpen the opposition between victim and aggressor, between moral exemplar and political power, lead him to a bizarre inaccuracy that instils an impersonality in the eulogy.

Als dann diesem Artikelschreiber (mehr war er ihnen nicht) die höchste literarische Ehrung, der Nobelpreis, zuerkannt wurde, staunten sie ein wenig, so wie sie jetzt staunen, daß Gustav Mahler, der exzentrische Hofoperndirigent, von Europa und Amerika als einer der Reinsten musikalischen Schöpfer verehrt wird, oder daß Sigmund Freud, eine andere Zielscheibe ihres sachlichen Witzes, mit seinen Ideen wie kein anderer Gelehrter Europas in Frankreich, England und Amerika die geistige Diskussion beherrscht.

Fried won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1911. Mistaking the Peace Prize for the Prize for Literature warrants the critique levelled at the text as rhetorical and formulaic. The comparison to Mahler and Freud jars as Zweig offers an explanation and context for a *literary* award he never won. Therese Fried made two edits for the *Friedens-Warte* version of the eulogy, namely cutting a repetition of the reference to Mahler and Freud, clearly thought irrelevant.³⁷²

While the text carries a familiar grandiose lament, Zweig often detaches himself from that register, introducing more sober language as an authentic reflection of Fried as a rational thinker: 'Seine Bild ist zu rein, seine Tat zu klar'. Zweig's claim that Fried had a talent for common sense, and that 'Er nüchtern ohne Trockenheit, leidenschaftlich ohne jede Uebertreibung [war]', rebounds into Zweig's own style. Zweig uses undecorated language and short sentences to set out what it actually means 'auf die Vernunft zu wirken', yet does so to exaggerate Fried's ineffectual modesty in the face of the epic tragic narrative. Fried's pursuit becomes impossible against the times:

Aber es gibt Zeiten, wo der Charakter durch metallene Härte dem eingeborenen talent irgendein Pathos, eine hinreißende Kraft beizufügen vermag, wo der Widerstand, der eigenwillig herausgefordert gegen die Welt, durch seinen erhöhten Druck erhöhte Spannung zeitigt, wo das Beste, das Reinste der

³⁷¹ Ibid., p. 1.

³⁷² '[...] und nannte ich sein Schicksal jahrelanger Verkennung im Zusammenhang mit genialen Naturen, wie Gustav Mahler und Sigmund Freud, so soll damit durchaus nicht versucht sein, seine Leistung als Denker jenem seltenen Niveau anzunähern' (in Resch, 'Umwege', p. 173). It is not clear why Therese Fried did not correct the initial mistake.

Menschlichkeit (das in unbewegter Zeit lässig am Grunde liegen geblieben wäre) durch den Sturm aus der Tiefe gerissen wird.

Zweig respects the sober disposition of the subject but is responsible for interpreting the life, responding as a friend and intellectual interlocutor, and showing the extraordinary in the ordinary, in the process of establishing a legacy at risk of non-existence.

Zweig writes of his privileged access, his friendship, his greater vantage: 'Nur wir, die wir ihm in jenen tragischen Schweizer Zeiten begegnen durften, wissen um die Qual, mit der er das selbstverschuldete Leiden aller Nationen mitlitt'. This re-framing of a pragmatic thinker is conducive to Zweig's narrative centred on the tragic defeatism at the heart of any anti-political movement. Resch suggests, 'Es wäre aber wohl eher in Fried's Sinne gewesen, die Geschichte weniger als "Dichterin", sondern als vielfach verzahntes Räderwerk gesellschaftlicher und politischer Prozesse anzusehen, die vor allem durch Analyse ihrer Wirkungsweise und konsequentes Engagement beeinflusst werden kann'.³⁷³

Zweig's treatment of life as a literary phenomenon obscures Fried's complex historical reality. The aestheticization of the history might be justified in a genre Zweig orients towards constructing a space for the future of humanism. That said, as with the Lammasch text, the potency of Zweig's conclusion and his resurrection of Fried remains ambiguous:

Und dann wird auch der Name Alfred H. Fried's, dieses ausgezeichneten Menschen, wieder auferstehen: denn wie könnte man das Leben ertragen ohne den Glauben an eine geheimnisvolle Gerechtigkeit, die es nicht duldet, daß irgendeine reine Anstrengung verloren und vergeblich bliebe, und die den Rahmen eines jeden zu Unrecht Vergessenen immer in rechter Stunde erneut.

There is hope for Fried's European Union idea and yet Zweig believes in the resurrection of the 'name' Alfred Fried, rather than his thought, actions or history. Again, the faith that consoles the author is not formulated around a practical vision of political progress, rather around the belief in 'eine geheimnisvolle Gerechtigkeit'. That that justice is ultimately against such defeatist tragic preconditions, poses the question whether it will ever be anything other than secret and invisible.

³⁷³ Resch, 'Umwege', p. 124.

Walther Rathenau (d. 24.06.1922)

In June 1923 Zweig published an article in memory of his friend, the murdered German Foreign Minister, Walther Rathenau, on the first anniversary of his death.³⁷⁴ Not written immediately after the death, the text will only be considered briefly to highlight its potential differences from eulogy. Critics expose a familiar tragic narrative employed for Lammasch and Fried, which transforms Rathenau into a martyr.³⁷⁵ A complex portrayal of Rathenau and his relationship with Zweig is not the objective of the remembrance. The opening lines both justify the occasion for the article as well as hint at a reconstruction of memory: 'Die Wasser der Zeit strömen zu rasch in unseren erregten Tagen, um Gestalten plastisch zu spiegeln: das Heute weiß nichts mehr vom Gestern, und wie Schatten gleiten die Figuren vorüber, die ein flüchtiger Zeitwille zu flüchtiger Macht berufen'. While offering a correction against historical oblivion, the text opens the ground for reconstruction.

Rathenau's 'furchtbare Einsamkeit' forms the basis of the tragedy, as he is the sole 'Klarseher', the 'tragisch Wissender' at a time when 'Wahn ist stärker als Wahrheit'. Zweig reads Rathenau against his self-identification, which he reads as a confident but politically expedient intellectual posture. Sohnemann does read an outsider mentality in Rathenau's letters to Zweig, although questions its authenticity.³⁷⁶ The conclusion articulates the moment of death as the consummation of life, a Romantic idea Zweig employs for Kleist in *Der Kampf mit dem Dämon*, and which recurs in later eulogies. For Zweig, 'Er [Rathenau] hat einen raschen, einen guten Tod gehabt' as his murderers were 'unbewußt im Einklang mit dem tiefsten Sinn seines Schicksals, denn nur durch das Hingeopfertsein ward das Opfer sichtbar, das Walter Rathenau auf sich genommen hatte'. While the lament is carried through to the last lines of the eulogies for Lammasch and Fried, with their immortality hoped for through the permanence of their ideas, the text in memory of Rathenau *celebrates* the final tragic act: 'Nie war er größer als in seinem Tod, nie sichtbarer als heute in seinem Fernesein'.

This line indicates its temporal distance from the event as it reimagines Rathenau's death as a highpoint. Emptied of the immediate grief, evident in the continuous laments and anger in the eulogies for Lammasch and Fried, Rathenau's person is subordinated to history, 'Welthistorische Gestalten soll man nicht sentimentalisch sehen [...] ihr wahres Schicksal ist

³⁷⁴ Stefan Zweig, 'Zum Andenken Walther Rathenaus', *Neue Freie Presse* (24 June 1923), pp. 1-3, reprinted in Zweig, *Europäisches Erbe*, pp. 232-42.

³⁷⁵ Jasmin Sohnemann, "'Der Kaufmann und der Künstler': Walther Rathenau und Stefan Zweig', in *Walther Rathenau im Netzwerk der Moderne*, ed. by Sven Brömsel, Patrick Küppers und Clemens Reichhold (Munich: De Gruyter, 2014), pp. 224-250 (pp. 224-25).

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

nicht das persönliche, sondern das historische'. The person becomes historical material in a constructed narrative that becomes ever clearer ('sichtbarer') further from the event.

12 The End of an Era: Rilke, Hofmannsthal, Schnitzler, Bahr

With the death of Hugo von Hofmannsthal in July 1929, Zweig declared the end of an era. Bringing together the two lyric poets of a generation into this literary eschatology, he writes: 'Hofman[n]sthal vient de mourir – avec lui et Rilke la vieille Autriche a finie [sic]'.³⁷⁷ And to Kippenberg, 'Hofman[n]sthal! Erst Rilke, dann er – das ist kein Zufall mehr, sondern ein Symbol und kein gutes. Sie haben es wohl auch so gespürt'.³⁷⁸ The rupture to Zweig's literary landscape appears definitive and the loss of these two figures who informed Zweig's early writing and represented the pinnacle of achievement,³⁷⁹ provoked unique responses amongst the eulogistic oeuvre. On both occasions, Zweig gave addresses at memorial services, his first eulogies delivered as speeches. 'Abschied von Rilke' is a significant *literary* response, in contrast to eulogies that focus less on style. That both figures are born *Dichter* renders the response necessarily literary. The coherence of poetry and life as aspects of an absolute *Dichtertum* demands, for Zweig, a literary response.

In both written and spoken eulogies, a public is addressed and yet those publics are constituted differently, the feuilleton readership in contrast to a selection of the literati and those close to the deceased. The communicative quality of an address, as either a dialogue between speaker and audience, or often a communal dialogue with the deceased through the first-person plural, is another difference. The spatial and visual elements of a presentation affect the imagery and idiom employed, often using the opportunity to evoke the materiality of the absent-present deceased. All these aspects impose on the function of a spoken eulogy and there is a question of whether the speaker restrains personal reflection in their responsibility as representative of a (literary) society. These differences should be borne in mind when comparing different kinds of response.

³⁷⁷ Zweig to Romain Rolland, 20 July 1929: B III, p. 243.

³⁷⁸ Zweig to Anton Kippenberg, 18 July 1929: B III, p. 242.

³⁷⁹ Jacques Le Rider, 'Zwischen Tradition und Moderne', in HB, pp. 43-52.

Rainer Maria Rilke (d. 29.12.1926): A Comparison of Stefan Zweig's and Robert Musil's Eulogies

Rilke's death was supposedly met with a muted reaction, what Robert Musil called 'ein ehrenvolles Begräbnis zweiter Klasse'.³⁸⁰ George Schoolfield contends that Musil was impatient in delivering that assessment, as in the months following the death innumerable laments were written and performed across Europe. Schoolfield's survey delineates a contrast between the French and German approaches to remembrance. The 'German threnodies with their splendid abstractions' are unpalatable (except for Robert Walser's short verse in the *Prager Presse*),³⁸¹ while 'the French lament does not try to remove the poet, transfigured, from the eyes of the naughty and undeserving world; it tries to make him the more human, and his loss thus the more poignant'. Thinking mainly of Jaloux's and Valéry's personal reminiscences of an 'ami', Schoolfield takes more from the humility of an anecdote than from the 'exalted quality' of the German laments.³⁸²

Two 'German' eulogies that are frequently cited in Rilke scholarship are the addresses at separate memorials by Stefan Zweig and Robert Musil. On 16 January 1927, Musil delivered his speech at the Berliner Renaissance-Theater, and on 20 February, Zweig gave his address at the Münchner Staatstheater. Görner suggests that out of the masses of commemorations to the poet, Zweig's is 'de[r] mit Abstand bedeutendst[e] Nekrolog auf Rilke'.³⁸³ Musil's eulogy is, however, both present in anthologies and used as a source of literary criticism, even if it remains only a cursory analysis. That said, Zweig's 'Abschied von Rilke' is a significant text and is without doubt the 'highpoint of rhetorical flourishes' amongst the eulogies.³⁸⁴ The two eulogies have come into contact in few studies but each prove rich sources for secondary literature, with Zweig being employed for his 'mellifluous' quotability³⁸⁵ and Musil for his rational-experiential reading of Rilke. The authors share insights and assessments and yet their approaches make for contrasting eulogies.

On hearing the news of Rilke's death, Zweig wrote to the two writers' publisher and mutual friend, Kippenberg:

Rilke sei gestorben, ich sollte schreiben – aber ich kanns natürlich nicht – ich bin ganz Schrecken und Ratlosigkeit über dies Plötzliche. Für Sie, für uns alle, für die

³⁸⁰ Robert Musil, 'Rede zur Rilke-Feier in Berlin am 16 Januar 1927', in Musil, *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. by Adolf Frisé, 9 vols (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1978), 8: *Essays und Reden*, pp. 1229-42.

³⁸¹ Robert Walser, Rilke, *Prager Presse* (4 January 1927), p. 6.

³⁸² George C. Schoolfield, 'Rilke's Last Year' (Lawrence: University of Kansas Libraries: 1969).

³⁸³ Rüdiger Görner, 'Lyrik', in HB, p. 108.

³⁸⁴ Gelber, 'Stefan Zweig as (Austrian) Eulogist', p. 155.

³⁸⁵ Schoolfield, p. 2.

Welt ist das unersetzlicher Verlust, schon um des Beispiels [sic], das von diesem Manne ausgieng. [...] Wir sind ja trotz seines Ruhms nur ein kleiner Kreis, der wahrhaft weiß, was wir an diesem Wunderbaren verloren haben: so teilen wir Schmerz und ergriffenes Gedenken an ihn in diesen Stunden.³⁸⁶

The letter transmits the idea of an irreversibly changed world post-Rilke, affording the poet the status of 'example', always meant in a moral sense for Zweig. The privileged understanding which Zweig and Kippenberg have is their knowledge of the man behind the poet, their experience as 'friends'. Zweig locates *true* knowledge of creativity without fail between the person and the work and often *true* access to the latter depends on intimate knowledge of the former. In the formulation 'Schmerz und ergriffenes Gedenken' – pain and *seizure* in remembrance – Zweig might be describing his template for eulogistic writing. 'Ergriffen' is an adjective often employed by Zweig and one that surfaced in the manuscript essays. Its inherent sense is of seizure and fixity and the idea of *fixed remembrance* is appropriate for a eulogy that works in some way to abstract an image of perfection, a *crystallized* essence of the poet, as part of a literary immortalisation.

The *true* knowledge indicated in the letter is certainly a result of a genuinely warm, mutual understanding that, at its height in Paris in 1913-1914, could be considered a friendship. Prater notes, 'Ja, sie [die Freundschaft] ermöglicht Rilke eine Spontaneität, die sonst bei ihm selten zutage kommt, fast völlig frei von jener Stilisierung wie sonst in seinen brieflichen Äußerungen'.³⁸⁷ Reflecting on the acquaintance in his memoirs, Zweig indicates a distance that never allowed Rilke to become a 'friend': 'ich glaube, daß nur wenige Menschen sich rühmen dürfen, Rilkes "Freunde" gewesen zu sein. In den sechs veröffentlichten Bänden seiner Briefe findet sich fast nie diese Ansprache, und das brüderlich vertrauliche Du scheint er seit seinen Schuljahren kaum irgend jemandem gewährt zu haben' (WVG, p. 162). Rilke is therefore doubly distant from the eulogist, an inconspicuous person, especially after the war, and a 'miraculous' poet. This distance translates into a certain abstraction and reverential impersonality in 'Abschied von Rilke', a eulogy of 'Schmerz und ergriffenes Gedenken'.

The opening of the eulogy hints at the arc of the narrative and shows how the eulogist intends to position himself in relation to his subject:

³⁸⁶ Zweig to Anton Kippenberg, 29 December 1926: B III, p. 178.

³⁸⁷ *Rainer Maria Rilke und Stefan Zweig in Briefen und Dokumenten*, ed. by Donald A. Prater (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1987), p. 11.

Musik hat diese Stunde eingeklungen, in Musik wird sie verströmen. Zwischen ihre rauschen auftragenden Schwingen tritt scheu und demütiger Stirne das Wort.

Demütig tritt mein Wort an diese Stunde, demütig beugt sich hin über dies teure und noch nicht überblühte Grab. Denn einzig Musik vermöchte vollkommen den Abschied von jenem auszusagen, den wir heute gemeinsam betrauern, Rainer Maria Rilke, und einzig in ihm von uns allen war das Wort schon vollkommen Musik. Nur an seiner Lippe war es erlöst vom Dunst der Gewöhnung – Gleichnisse hoben da flughaft leicht den starren Leib der Sprache in jene höhere Welt des Erscheinens, darin jedes Geheimnis erfüllbar wird und unsere tägliche Rede eine kaum begreifliche Magie. Alle Vielfalt wußte es zu formen, sein schöpferisch gewordenes Wort, alle Formen des Lebens suchten ihr Bildnis in den klingenden Spiegeln seiner Verse, und selbst der Tod – selbst er trat groß und gegenständlich aus seinem Gedicht als die reinste und notwendigste aller Wirklichkeiten.

Wir aber, zurückgeblieben im untern Element, wir haben nur das Dumpfe der Klage, die Klage um den Dichter, um ihn, der, wie immer das Göttliche, selten erscheint in den Zeiten und den wir doch einmalig in ihm schauen durften mit den groben Organen der Sinne und der Stark erschütterten Insbrunst der Seele: in seiner Gestalt haben wir den Seltenen erlebt.³⁸⁸

This insistently respectful lament establishes two contrasting positions for the eulogist. 'Zurückgeblieben im untern Element', Zweig demotes himself to the role of humble servant to an example of 'das Göttliche', adopting a bowed stance ('demütiger Stirne', 'beugt sich hin'). The first-person plural then demotes the audience and prepares them to look upwards 'in jene höhe Welt des Erscheinens', where Rilke existed and to which he has presumably returned. The second position is the logical extension of the first, as self-demotion leads to self-effacement. While it is true that Zweig employs the first person possessive pronoun 'mein' to describe his entrance into and imposition on the text to come, only infrequently and at a distinct point in the eulogy will he utter the pronoun 'Ich'. Instead, it is the 'word' itself, somewhat disembodied, that will carry the response to Rilke's death. That word is disembodied further by its transformation into music and the syntax flows in parataxis that will continue over the next paragraphs, as will the lyrical emphasis on the poet's full name. Self-effacement in the music of the word is opposed to the humility of an actual interlocutor. On the one hand, self-effacement

³⁸⁸ Stefan Zweig, 'Abschied von Rilke', *Neue Freie Presse* (20 February 1927), pp. 1-4, also in GWE *Das Geheimnis des künstlerischen Schaffens* (1984), pp. 242-260 (p. 242).

is the ultimate sacrifice to the deceased, letting Rilke's music flow through the descriptions. On the other, a certain authority is presumed for the disembodied, agentless 'word', the effect of an omniscient narrator, which ultimately lends an assuredness to the experiences of Rilke's poetry.

Rilke represents 'das Göttliche' and 'der Seltene' and Zweig expands on this by introducing the 'Dichter' and its 'Vollkommenheit'. These concepts are liberally associated with Rilke in the array of tributes to him and Musil also employs the concepts of *Größe* and *Vollkommenheit* in his address, if from a different perspective. For Zweig, the *Dichter* is no mere poet but 'Dichter, er, Rainer Maria Rilke, er war es noch einmal und wiederum in dem reinen und vollkommenen Sinn'.³⁸⁹ *Dichter* applies to a poet in writing and in life, in creativity and in disposition: 'Dichter, er war und blieb es unwandelbar und unwiderleglich in jedem Wort und Handlung seines früh geendeten Zeitseins'. It follows that the life and the actions of the poet reached perfection:

jedes Wort, das er sprach, jeder Brief, den er schrieb, jede Geste, die seinem zarten und melodischen Körper entsprang, das Lächeln seiner Lippe und die reine Rundung seiner Schrift, all dies Einheitliche und Einmalige gehorchte ebendemselben schöpferischen Gesetz, das seine Verse zu Vollendeten formt.³⁹⁰

Not only is Rilke a figure of perfection in all that he does, he was also always already a *Dichter*, 'wir wissen um keine Stunde, in der er nicht der Dichter gewesen [...] Dichter, er war es allezeit, Rainer Maria Rilke, und er war es von je'.³⁹¹ This picture of perfection is the height of Zweig's eulogistic rhetoric and in depicting this absolute infallibility he gets across Rilke's own pursuit for a self-image in the likeness of his poetry.

Famous for his immaculate presentation and flawless handwriting, which Zweig mentions here and later in the memoirs, Rilke's perfection in conduct is not only a feature of Zweig's portrait. Kassner wrote of his close friend in the months after his death, 'Rilke war Dichter, auch wenn er sich nur die Hände wusch'.³⁹² Such universal *Dichtertum*, what Wacker calls a *sylogismus practicus*, is a means of treating the biography as interpretable as the literature. When it comes to the end of Rilke's life, the synonymy of life (and death) and poetry replays most closely in the tritest comments amongst the eulogies for Rilke. The strategy –

³⁸⁹ Zweig, 'Abschied von Rilke', p. 243.

³⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 243.

³⁹¹ Ibid., pp. 243-44.

³⁹² Rudolf Kassner, *Rilke: Gesammelte Erinnerungen 1926-1956*, ed. by Klaus E. Bohnenkamp (Pfullingen: Neske, 1976), p. 10.

‘Rilkes Künstler-Leben selbst als literarisches Artefakt zu begreifen’³⁹³ – leads to the abstraction of the eulogized, both implausible and impressive, both conventional and Zweigian.

Zweig’s sympathy to Rilke’s curated self-image at the expense of balance and in favour of an exalted rhetoric, has attracted criticism. Baer suggests that Zweig understands Rilke’s exceptionality in life and work as a ‘moral perfection’, which ‘is not philosophically sustainable and, given that Rilke hardly acted faultlessly in his life, may appear as posthumous fawning or baseless hyperbole’.³⁹⁴ Musil, like Zweig, speaks of ‘Vollkommenheit’ but qualifies his understanding of perfection as ‘ein äußeres Kennzeichen’, or ‘eine bestimmte Eigenschaft und zunächst noch nicht Rang und Wert’.³⁹⁵ Baer terms this perfection ‘a question of aesthetic coherence and formal unity’, in contrast to a ‘moral perfection’ that unites life and poetry. Baer sees ‘moral perfection’ as ‘the desire for a false sense of absolute self-certainty’, which might function as a critique of Zweig’s approach, a desire for a sense of absolute rhetorical self-certainty.³⁹⁶

The final element of Zweig’s *Dichter* concept is the emphasis on both innate genius and hard worker, which shows Rilke as not just ‘Prophet’ but ‘kompetenter Dichter und Leistungsethiker’, the complementary balance of ‘*ingenium* und *ars*’.³⁹⁷ Zweig suggests Rilke’s key early insight was a principle of constant development:

Wie früh hat dieser Wunderbare erkannt, was die andern spät und oft niemals lernen, dass das selig Zugefallene vom wahrhaften Dichter noch einmal und immer wieder neu verdient sein müsse durch unabsehbare Mühe, dass der Mann in beharrlichen und furchtbaren Ernst dauernd zu verwandeln verschuldet sei, was der Genius ihm anfänglich bloß als Spiel und gleichsame zur Leihe gegeben. Und von dieser frühen Erkenntnis an begann bei Rainer Maria Rilke jener schwere Gang zur Vollendung hin, auf dem er niemals ermüdete und vom dem er niemals – höchste Ehre seiner Reinheit dies! – von dem er niemals auch einen Schritt nur gewichen ist.³⁹⁸

³⁹³ Gabriella Wacker, *Poetik des Prophetischen: Zum visionären Kunstverständnis in der Klassischen Moderne* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), p. 181.

³⁹⁴ Ulrich Baer, ‘The Perfection of Poetry: Rainer Maria Rilke and Paul Celan’, *New German Critique*, 91 (2004), 171-189 (p. 173).

³⁹⁵ Musil, p. 1231.

³⁹⁶ Baer, pp. 171-73.

³⁹⁷ Wacker, p. 182.

³⁹⁸ Zweig, ‘Abschied von Rilke’, p. 246.

While the eulogy hardly gives an objective account of the 'arduous path on his way to artistic growth and maturity',³⁹⁹ the literary concept of genius does incorporate, for Zweig, the notion of work as 'jener schwere Gang'. Ultimately, this development is not so much *towards* perfection, as it is from manifestation to manifestation of an inner perfection. As Zweig holds for the earliest poems, 'schon dieser erste Ton fand Wiederklang in uns Gleichaltrigen [...] nun erst schlug das Bewusstsein seiner Sendung in ihm die Augen auf [...]'. These are the same verses, which Zweig retrospectively described as 'unreif[], kindlich[] und naiv[]', and the same poet, whose development, in comparison to Hofmannsthal, had 'den stilleren, normaleren Aufstieg' (WVG, p. 70).

Musil's eulogy also addresses greatness and the *Dichter* figure but there is no music to be heard. In order to get at the muted reaction to Rilke's death, he poses the question of the poet's value to himself and opens up a theoretical enquiry that moves the address off to a tangent:

Ich gestehe es offen, mein erster Einfall, auf die Frage, warum wir heute zusammenkommen, zu antworten: weil wir den größten Lyriker ehren wollen, den die Deutschen seit dem Mittelalter besessen haben!

Es wäre erlaubt und ist doch auch unerlaubt, so etwas zu sagen.

Gestatten Sie mir, mit dieser Unterscheidung zu beginnen. Sie soll in keiner Weise die Größe Rilkes einschränken, verklauseln oder einem Kompromiß unterwerfen. Sie soll nur den Begriff der dichterischen Größe überhaupt richtigstellen, soweit er heute unsicher geworden ist, damit wir nicht eine falsche Ehrfurcht beweisen und das Bild Rilkes über einem Fundament aufbauen, das keinen Halt hat.⁴⁰⁰

Musil inserts himself into the presentation and is in dialogue with the audience. There is no conventional lament, rather it takes the form of an enquiry into the precise terminology, in order explicitly to *do justice* to the deceased. Musil removes Rilke from the eulogy as a means of interrogating our approach to memorialisation. He shares with Zweig the compulsion to class Rilke as the greatest but also questions that compulsion. In other words, the beginning of Musil's address displays something of a lack of self-certainty, which is itself enhanced by the presence of a first-person perspective that remains human, fallible, agonising, and distinctly *unsure* throughout the eulogy.

³⁹⁹ Gelber, 'Stefan Zweig as (Austrian) Eulogist', p. 155.

⁴⁰⁰ Musil, p. 1229.

Musil addressed the notion of greatness continuously in his writing and in the eulogy, he hesitates to employ the term authentically because of its contemporary ubiquity and corruption:

Die neuzeitliche Gepflogenheit, daß wir Deutsche immer einen größten Dichter haben müssen—gewissermaßen einen langen Kerl der Literatur—ist ein üble Gedankenlosigkeit, die nicht wenig Schuld daran trägt, daß die Bedeutung Rilkes nicht erkannt worden ist. [...] Es liegt ja auf der flachen Hand, daß der Begriff der künstlerischen und geistigen Größe niemals nach Metermaß und Nummer bestimmbar ist. [...] Niemand hat in so edler Weise kundgegeben, daß der Begriff der künstlerischen Größe nicht ausschließend ist, wie Rilke, welcher stets der selbstlose Förderer seiner jungen Mitbewerber gewesen ist.⁴⁰¹

The urgency for superlative assessments means that nothing can be esteemed in any meaningful way. Musil prefers not to understand greatness hierarchically: 'Die Höhe der Dichtung ist keine Spitze, auf der es immer höher geht, sondern ein Kreis, innerhalb dessen es nur ungleich Gleiches, Einmaliges, Unersetzliches, eine edle Anarchie und Ordens-Brüderlichkeit gibt'.⁴⁰² In this circular analogy, Musil levels the hierarchy and allows for a plane of genius that, by extension, brings geniuses into a network of relations in cultural memory. It attempts to honour what he understands as Rilke's own humility as a promoter of those around him. If Musil posits this planar space of greatness, Zweig employs a linear trajectory that implies progress and elevation. In a later text, Zweig writes:

Das Dasein eines großen Menschen überschreitet unmeßbar weit den gewöhnlichen Lebenskreis. Dank seiner schöpferischen Gewalt dehnt der wahrhafte Genius seine Wirkung weit über das Vergängliche ins Dauernde, über das Zeitliche ins Zeitlose empor und in dieser Erhebung verschwindet seine irdische Gestalt zeitweise völlig hinter seiner geistigen Existenz.⁴⁰³

Zweig describes the genius figure being elevated *out from* a circle into a higher, ultimately timeless realm. Where Musil insists on the necessity to think about greatness as inclusive and terrestrial, Zweig tends to define it as exclusive and not of this world.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., p. 1230.

⁴⁰² Ibid., p. 1230.

⁴⁰³ Stefan Zweig, 'Vorwort', *Bericht über die musikwissenschaftliche Tagung der Internationalen Stiftung Mozarteum in Salzburg vom 2. bis 5. August 1931*, ed. by Erich Schenk (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1932), pp. 5-6.

Having established Rilke as perfect ‘Dichter’ and established his otherworldly genius (‘nie zu erklären mit irdischen Ursächlichkeiten’), Zweig covers the development of Rilke’s poetic life. The eulogist reminds his audience that ‘jeder von uns, jeder, irgendeine Strophe oder ein Wort von Rainer Maria Rilke unbewusst in den Sinnen hat – einen Atemzug Musik von ihm, der nicht mehr atmet und spricht und doch länger da sein wird als unser aller unbeträchtliches Dasein und Weiterleben’.⁴⁰⁴ This evokes Rilke’s presence, his voice, inside the room and hints at the absorption of Rilkean music within the words of the address. Gelber touches on the poetic quality of the eulogy, noting the consistent use of the poet’s full name to ‘emphasize that Rilke’s very essence, as symbolized by his name, was poetical’ and that ‘one could easily scan this eulogy for its poetic cadences’.⁴⁰⁵ The eulogy follows its own opening injunction: ‘Musik hat diese Stunde eingeklungen, in Musik wird sie verströmen’.

The eulogy goes further than being poetical or superficially imitative in its proclivity for the neologism, for example. It often enacts in its own rhetoric the poetic developments it describes and is a function of the dissolution of the first person into the word. The shifts between the *Buch der Bilder*, *Stundenbuch*, and *Neue Gedichte* periods are accompanied by stylistic shifts in the eulogy, mainly shifting from musicality to plasticity. On the mystical connections between all things described in the *Stundenbuch*, Zweig writes:

Das Meer, das abgründige, in dessen Unausmessbarkeit das Gefühl restlos einströmen konnte, war gefunden, aus der linden Demut Frömmigkeit geworden, ‘die stete und stille Schwerkraft, welche aus den Tiefen Gottes auf die Seelen wirkt’, aus der zarten Bewegtheit eine zitternde und ekstatische Trunkenheit, aus einzelnen wie von Wind musikalisch bewegten Strophen das bronzene Glockendröhnen des großen Gedichts.⁴⁰⁶

This layered sentence breaks poetically, and Rilke’s own words are absorbed into its centre, so that not quotation is not used illustratively but as part of the continuous empathetic quotation of a style. Each noun is qualified, often by more than one adjective or adjectival construction. The whole sentence develops in crescendo, so that the simplest of beginnings, the monosyllabic ‘Das Meer’, gives way to the immeasurable stream it eventually describes. Rilke’s ‘stete und stille Schwerkraft’ is echoed but heightened in Zweig’s ‘zitternde und ekstatische Trunkenheit’, which keeps the adjectival balance but extends the number of syllables. Two meanings for

⁴⁰⁴ Zweig, ‘Abschied von Rilke’, p. 245.

⁴⁰⁵ Gelber, ‘Stefan Zweig as (Austrian) Eulogist’, p. 157.

⁴⁰⁶ Zweig, ‘Abschied von Rilke’, pp. 248-49.

‘bewegt’ are employed linking the emotional level of ‘Gefühl’ to ‘Meer’, or ‘Wind’, emphasising how the mystical emanates from concrete experience. The last of the ‘aus’ clauses is stretched finally arriving at ‘das bronzene Glockendröhnen des großen Gedichts’, itself an image with continued resonance built within.

The *Neue Gedichte* signal the move to plasticity following Rilke’s experience of Auguste Rodin’s studio: ‘er tritt aus dem bezwungenen Element der Musik kühn in das noch unbetretene der marmornen Plastik’.⁴⁰⁷ Zweig also moves towards a less musical language, as ‘die Musik [ist] ausgelöscht und zertreten wie eine überflüssige Flamme’:

[...] ein sachliches Licht grenzt jetzt transparent jede Erscheinung ab zu einer fast grausamen Deutlichkeit. Jedes dieser neuen Gedichte steht und besteht als ein Marmorbild, [...] Diese Gedichte – ich nenne nur ‘Der Panther’, ‘Der Karussell’ – sind herausgeschnitten aus dem unbeholfenen kalten Stein ihrer Taghelligkeit wie klare Kameen, durchsichtig dem bloß geistigen Blick, - Gebilde, wie sie die deutsche Lyrik bislang in ähnlich schenidender Härte nicht hatte, Sieg einer wissenden Sachlichkeit über das bloß Ahnungshafte, Triumph, endgültiger, einer ganz zu Plastik gewordenen Sprache. Jedes einzelne Ding steht dort in seiner unverrückbaren Schwere fugenlos und hermetisch verschlossen in seinem eigenen Selbst. Es atmet nicht mehr wie früher Musik, nur seine eingeborene Form und der Sinn seiner Seele spricht jedes mit unvergleichlicher Deutlichkeit geradezu geometrisch aus.⁴⁰⁸

The quality of this passage is noticeably different from the previous one. The extended description does not have the same sense of crescendo as Zweig elucidates a more objective argument for the *Dinggedicht* style. The sentences are simpler, beginning with a subject and verb and are without any *musical* interference and re-arrangement. The set of three beginning ‘Gebilde’, ‘Sieg’, ‘Triumph’, becomes a list of separate key points that are linked by commas but are effectively new ideas. There is no flow and development of an extended metaphor but isolated attributes that ‘atmet nicht mehr wie früher Musik’. Such stylistic adaptations are a consequence of an empathetic mode present everywhere in Zweig’s biographies and literary portraits. In reference to Rilke’s *Neue Gedichte*, Zweig writes that it was the poet’s task ‘sich zu verwandeln, vollkommen restlos sich aufzulösen in fremder Gestalt, nicht mehr sich ihr sympathisch zu binden’.⁴⁰⁹ The retreat of the ‘Ich’ from the eulogy is evidence of a similar

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 251.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid., pp. 252-53.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 252.

position. Giving Rilke the floor, by quoting but also by occasionally subordinating to the poet's style and creative demands, Zweig displays his influence, which he described 'als unser aller unbeträchtliches Dasein und Weiterleben'.

Both Musil and Zweig explore the dynamism of the Rilkean image or moment, as no object is only ever itself but is constantly evocative of a relationship to something else and ultimately to a greater whole, to existence, 'jener große Glanz von einander überströmenden Gleichnissen'.⁴¹⁰ It is a dynamic idea of the whole being evoked in the fragment, and the way Zweig describes the 'fragmentary moment as a richly social event' that Phelan finds 'prescient' about Zweig's early reviews of Rilke.⁴¹¹ Zweig addresses movement and the relativity of perception only when talking about the *Buch der Bilder*, whereas Musil focuses his response to Rilke's poetry predominantly around aspects of movement. Hutchinson points to Musil's view of Rilke's poetry as 'reiner Vorgang'.⁴¹²

Zweig takes up the dynamic idea through a particularly *progressive* sense of movement:

Aber sie als Einzelne und Abgelöste zu betrachten, ward ihm bald zu geringe Bemühung, denn ein Gleichnis zog mit den silbern klingenden Ketten der Reime das Schwesterliche jeder Erscheinung unaufhaltsam an sich heran, ein unablässiges Sicherinnern von einem ins andre rundete das lockere Verstreutsein des Daseins im Raume zu einem pausenlosen Strömen, gleichsam dem einer Fontäne, die aufsteigt aus den dunkelsten Tiefen des Gedankens und gleichzeitig überglänzt wird von höchsten Geleucht der ewig im Flusse sich erneuernden Sprache.⁴¹³

In this experience of the Rilkean image, an endless stream of images pours forth from an initial perception. The 'unablässiges Sicherinnern', 'the mutual recollection of things', highlights the multi-directional relations that Phelan understands as applicable both within and between individual poems. He reads this idea as a 'perpetual deferral of interpretation' emphasising formulations not taken up in the eulogy ('Sicherläutern', 'Aneinandererinnern') to conclude: 'the meanings of things are found both within the network of deferred memory as an interplay of significances, but also in their insertion into what Zweig calls "das Ungeheure", the

⁴¹⁰ Ibid., p. 248.

⁴¹¹ Anthony Phelan, 'Rilke and his Philosophical Critics', in *The Cambridge Companion to Rilke*, ed. by Karen Leeder and Robert Vilain (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 174-188 (p. 174).

⁴¹² Ben Hutchinson, *Rilke's Poetics of Becoming* (London: Legenda, 2006), p. 1.

⁴¹³ Zweig, 'Abschied von Rilke', p. 249.

inordinate'.⁴¹⁴ While this may be true for Zweig's review article, the main dynamic motif in the eulogy remains the unstoppable ('unaufhaltsam', 'unablässig', 'pausenlos') flow ('Strömen', 'ewig im Flusse') of existence evoked and briefly captured ('überglänzt') by this intense poetic novelty. Zweig weakens the earlier insistence on the idea of mutuality by including only the one word, 'Sicherinnern', in favour of an emphasis on flow and forward or upward progression, as in the image of the fountain. One reason for a shift lies in the eulogistic perspective. Subordinating himself to Rilke's word, Zweig approaches the poetic life as if it were in the process of creation and did not inhabit the perspective of reception. Zweig refers only to Rilke's perspective ('Aber sie [...] zu betrachten, ward ihm...') so that we do not read an interpretation of poetry, so much as an interpretation of the poet's experience and articulation of phenomena. This is a position which binds the eulogist to a kind of 'rhetorical self-certainty'.

Musil's approach to reading Rilke follows a qualification:

Statt dieser Entwicklung [des Wegs Rilkes von den frühen und ersten Gedichten bis zu den Duineser Elegien], in ihren Schritten zu folgen – wobei ein jeder wohl am besten den Dichter selbst zum Führer nimmt – möchte ich jedoch lieber versuchen, die tiefen Beziehungen, von denen ich spreche, an der Erscheinung der fertigen Rilkeschen Poesie zu verdeutlichen, indem ich noch einmal, aber diesmal nach innen hin, an den ungewöhnlichen Eindruck anknüpfe, den sie hervorruft.⁴¹⁵

Musil avoids the encapsulation of Rilke's development in favour of an *attempt* to describe the impression it evokes: 'Ich habe ihn, mit den ersten tastenden Worten, eine klare Stille in einer niemals anhaltenden Bewegung, eine gewagte Zumutung, ein gehobenes Dauern, ein breites Geöffnetsein, eine beinahe schmerzliche Spannung genannt [...]'. Emphasising the tentativeness of his words, Musil offers a set of impressions that do not *capture* the sense he is looking for and thus necessitate further descriptions. In contrast to Zweig's crescendo rhetorical expansion and his assured, rational listing of poetic qualities, Musil *feels towards* an articulation. Their use of parataxis is therefore different: Zweig's is proliferating, piling, progressive, building dense description; Musil's is contiguous, distributed, stretching the impression described.

Musil's impressions contain a permanent tension between movement and stasis, what Hutchinson might call a 'kinesis held in balance' and a 'composite reciprocity of movement'. Such reciprocity, what Zweig refers to as the 'Sicherinnern' of 'überströmende Gleichnisse', becomes for Musil a matter of likenesses that are not only likenesses: 'Die Eigenschaften

⁴¹⁴ Phelan, p. 175.

⁴¹⁵ Musil, p. 1236.

werden zu Aller-schaften! Sie haben sich von den Dingen und Zuständen losgelöst, sie schweben im Feuer und im Wind des Feuers'. The dynamism of thought is represented by 'schweben', to hover, mirroring the balanced movement of the 'klare Stille in einer niemals anhaltenden Bewegung'.⁴¹⁶

Ultimately, these impressions build to a distillation of a worldview that is the universal resonance of each image. Musil asserts that the world is wrongly believed to be solid, a place of fixed ideas, finding in Rilke the representation of the world's inherent precarity:

Und nun gibt es ein Gedicht, das in der Welt des Festen einer Ergänzung, Erholung, einen Schmuck, Aufschwung, Ausbruch, kurz Unterbrechung und Ausschaltung bedeutet; man kann auch sagen, es handelt sich da um bestimmte und einzelne Gefühle. Und es gibt ein Gedicht, das die im ganzen Dasein versteckte Unruhe, Unstetheit und Stückhaftigkeit nicht vergessen kann; man könnte sagen, hier handelt es sich, wenn auch nur in einem Teil, um das Gefühl als Ganzes, auf dem die Welt wie eine Insel ruht.⁴¹⁷

In other words, part of Rilke's perfection lies in his poetry's embodiment of imperfection, articulated as fragmentariness, inconstancy, restlessness (or unrest). This inherent pursuit of 'einem kommenden Weltbild' makes Rilke a 'Führer' as well as 'Dichter', for Musil. In a postscript to the published version, he expands this idea by calling Rilke

einen Dichter [...], der uns in die Zukunft führt. Denn es scheint, daß die Entwicklung des Geistes, die heute vielen als Zerfall erscheint, aber ihr Gleichgewicht doch in sich tragen muß, dieses Gleichgewicht als ein bewegliches erweisen wird; wir sind nicht wieder zu einem so oder anders bestimmten ideologischen Erstarren berufen, sondern zur Entfaltung der Schöpfung und der Möglichkeiten des Geistes!⁴¹⁸

Therefore, from a sense of the hovering, floating, tense movement, indicating everywhere the possibility of change, or possibility *tout court*, Musil develops a potential ethical value. For Baer, '[m]oral perfectionism means to consider the potential for self-transformation, rather than identity and self-knowledge, to be one's most essential attribute', which 'places extraordinary emphasis on words' as every self-transformation demands a self-articulation, therefore showing the coincidence of moral perfectionism and 'rhetorical operations of figures of speech'.

⁴¹⁶ Ibid., p. 1236.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid., p. 1240.

⁴¹⁸ Ibid., p. 1241.

Ultimately, for Baer as for Musil, 'a perfect poem is the expression of something that remains to be said'.⁴¹⁹

Zweig develops his ethics out of the alternative 'moral perfection' that binds poet and poetry. His letter following the poet's death emphasizes the finality of Rilke's loss. Gelber notes 'death usually signalled for Zweig irrevocable loss, rather than say, inspiration' and it seems this absolute sense of loss is, at least rhetorically, a consequence of the coherence of writer and writing.⁴²⁰ The possibility of an inspirational reading, for Musil, depends on a detachment of man and poetry, so that the poetry itself, in its 'aesthetic of incipience',⁴²¹ becomes an anticipatory expression of what is yet to become. This is enacted in Musil's approach, which is necessarily tangential, always tentative ('mit den ersten tastenden Worten') and deliberately fragmentary. As he maintains at the end of his speech,

Und ich habe bisher eigentlich nur von einer einzigen Schönheit unter den vielen seines Werks in ihren Beziehungen gesprochen; aber es muß mir genügen, darauf hinzuweisen, wie schon diese in einen großen Entwicklungszusammenhang gehört. Und eben das, dieses Einbezogensein des Kleinsten ins Größte, ist Rilke.⁴²²

'Abschied von Rilke' substitutes the interpretation of poetry as *the expression of what remains to be said* for an interpretation of poetry as *the expression of what cannot be said*. Zweig understands the *Duineser Elegien* as seeking 'das kaum mehr Darstellbare darzustellen', and 'eine Metaphorik des Nicht-mehr-Erschaubaren'. Zweig's formulation implies that only Rilke could approach the unsayable and it allows the eulogist to depict the isolation of the poet. The elegies 'war[en] sein letzter Aufstieg, und wir vermögen kaum den Firn zu bemessen, den er einsam auf diesem letzten Wege erreichte'. Rilke is cut off, elevated beyond recognition and made private so that his poetry becomes a 'Dialog mit dem Unendlichen' and a 'brüderliche Gegenrede mit dem Tod', a death that is the means 'dieses letzte und langvorbereitete Werk rein zu vollenden'.⁴²³ Many eulogies for Rilke refer to the proximity of life and death in Rilke's writing, transposes the poetic and philosophical thought to the life, making poetry and poet cohere, making Rilke his own literary artefact.⁴²⁴ That Rilke's writing at the margin of life and

⁴¹⁹ Baer, p. 173-74.

⁴²⁰ Gelber, 'Stefan Zweig as (Austrian) Eulogist', p. 154.

⁴²¹ Hutchinson, p. 1.

⁴²² Musil, p. 1240.

⁴²³ Zweig, 'Abschied von Rilke', pp. 257.

⁴²⁴ See Felix Braun 'Aus einer Trauerrede', *Orplid*, 3 (1927), pp. 41-44, and Robert Faesi 'Gedenkrede', *Orplid* 3 (1927), pp. 13-23; and Lou Andreas-Salomé, *Rainer Maria Rilke* (Leipzig: Insel, 1928), pp. 5-7 especially.

death 'verwandelt [den Tod] ins Gedicht' and that this poetry made 'die Mahnung ins Vergängliche selbst Unvergänglichkeit', becomes moot when the poet's death 'schlug wie eine plötzlich zufallende Tür'. The door is shut to the – momentarily celebrated – formal possibilities of speaking intransience, when the poet dies, leaving only 'die eingebrochene Leere'. Ultimately, there is only a position of distanced reverence left to those left behind:

Aber mit diesem Tod zu rechten, ihn früh und grausam zu nennen, nein, das wäre nicht seines Sinns. Wir haben ehrfürchtig zu sein vor diesem Tode um seiner Ehrfurcht willen. Soviel dieser Tod uns auch genommen an ungesagten Dingen und unsagbaren Möglichkeiten, dies müssen wir ihm dennoch danken, dass er ein hohes Bildnis uns unverstellt erhalten bis zur letzten Stunde und Rainer Maria Rilkes Angedenken als ein vollkommenes vor unserer Liebe steht, eine hohe Gewähr für jeden Bemühten im Geiste, eine erlauchte Bürgschaft für jede Jugend, dass durch Sammlung der Seele und Reinheit des Daseins der Dichter auch heute noch möglich ist in unserer dem Dichterischen abwendig gewordenen Welt. Er war dieser Dichter, er blieb es bis zum letzten Atem seiner Lippe und es ist die einzige Tröstung unserer Trauer, dass wir sagen dürfen: wir haben ihn erlebt.⁴²⁵

The eulogy denies any potentially formal legacy; it is a response of 'Schmerz und *ergriffenes Gedenken*'. Instead, death is thanked for preserving and crystallising the pure perfection of Rilke even in his last days, leaving an image that is 'unverstellt'. Zweig contributes to this image of untainted perfection by reconstructing it in the eulogy. The death, almost in opposition to the lyrical potentiality posited by Musil, is shown to 'take away' the possibility of unsaid and unsayable things as that possibility was reserved for the poet, suitably distanced, abstracted and exceptional throughout the tribute. The only logical consolation is therefore not that Rilke's poetry inaugurates new possibilities, but knowing that 'wir haben ihn erlebt'.

The fixed image of Rilke and his poetry underline Zweig's notion of irrevocable loss. The coherence of poet and poetry limits one to the other and transforms death into a *literary* apotheosis. The eulogist approaches his subject 'ehrfürchtig' and 'demütig', which is tantamount to 'ergriffenes Gedenken'. Zweig dissolves the first-person into the text and, on the occasions it resurfaces, is fixed in reverence. The text does not open up any distance between eulogist and eulogized, negating any reception or interpretative dialogue with the poet and his work. In the 'desire for a false sense of self-certainty', 'Abschied von Rilke' attempts to encapsulate the whole life and to definitively show, and sometimes even enact, what Rilke's

⁴²⁵ Zweig, 'Abschied von Rilke', p. 258-59.

poetry/life *was*. Musil's address, in contrast, deliberately focuses on a fragment of the poetic method and attempts to articulate, and to enact, what Rilke's poetry *does*. Zweig's gratitude at the end highlights Rilke's exemplarity and the immortality of his works, which deserve 'Ruhm und Ehrfurcht'. Musil's final image re-evaluates Rilke as 'Führer' for a worldview yet to come. Zweig presents the whole Rilkean story in coherent perfection as a closed book ('wie eine plötzlich zufallende Tür'), offering as a moral message that we should *remember* and venerate the poet, a backwards-looking conclusion. Musil is led to a formal analysis of a single encounter with Rilkean poetry, concluding with a moral message that we should *create* and continue on the paths opened by the poet 'who leads us into the future'.

Hugo von Hofmannsthal (d. 15.07.1929)

Zweig's relationship with Hugo von Hofmannsthal was by no means close. He was fascinated by the precocious poet, but the literary interest was not mutual (except for Hofmannsthal's approval of Zweig's 1908 Balzac essay). Zweig's early poetry carried a 'Hofmannsthal'schen *sound*'⁴²⁶ but Zweig cared little for Hofmannsthal the man. Zweig understood Hofmannsthal's powers to have peaked by the time of *Ein Brief*, and so his memorial address for Hofmannsthal has received little interest.⁴²⁷ Hofmannsthal's widow failed to attend the memorial, staying faithful to her late husband's scepticism of Zweig. Polt-Heinzl suggests the address portrays the poet as 'bis zuletzt der Dichter der frühen Verse und Dramen',⁴²⁸ while Le Rider adds that it lacks even one mention of the Salzburger Festspiele.⁴²⁹ Unsurprisingly given the distance between them, the eulogy is rhetorically overblown and conventional. Of more interest in this template eulogy is the emphasis on the shock and loss of the literary figure in the *contemporary* context. The eulogies are always in some way a platform for a Zweigian narrative in context – most evident in the eulogies for political figures – but the eulogy for Hugo von Hofmannsthal explicitly distinguishes two worlds and two worldviews forced into focus now, precisely because this death represents a literary-historical juncture.

In 1929, Zweig was at his most productive, stretched across various writing projects, daily correspondence, and extensive touring. He felt 'gehetzt wie ein Wildschwein'⁴³⁰ and the

⁴²⁶ Le Rider, 'Zwischen Tradition und Moderne', p. 44.

⁴²⁷ 13 October 1929, Wiener Burgtheater.

⁴²⁸ Polt-Heinzl, p. 529.

⁴²⁹ Le Rider, 'Zwischen Tradition und Moderne', p. 44.

⁴³⁰ Oliver Matuschek, *Stefan Zweig: Drei Leben. Eine Biographie* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2006), p. 233.

request for an address in memory of Hofmannsthal was inconvenient, if not unwelcome: ‘dazu fällt mir nun noch eine Rede über Hoffmannsthal [sic] ins Haus, die ich dem Burgtheater nicht verweigern kann’.⁴³¹ The sense of obligation goes some way to explaining the difference in approach from his last public eulogy. Zweig thus felt the irrevocable loss of Hofmannsthal the lyric poet but very little for the man. He writes, ‘[...] la vieille Autriche a finie [sic]. Sa vie [Hofmannsthal’s] était une longue tragédie – perfection à 20 ans et puis les dieux lui ont retiré leur voix. Je l’aimais peu personnellement [sic], mais j’étais son élève et sa mort m’a très émue [sic]’.⁴³² Zweig’s discomfort around the speech ultimately leads to a more impersonal approach, framing the loss as cultural and historical event, treating the legacy of the symbolic figure, rather than the literature itself. To compare the opening words of the addresses for Rilke and Hofmannsthal, a contrast emerges between the ‘Musik’ of Rilke and ‘Den unermesslichen Verlust’ of Hofmannsthal, that is, the contrast between an immersion in a poetic experience and a focus on the poetic figure in context.

Zweig expresses his inability to speak, suggesting that pain itself speaks more eloquently to the loss than words, words that could only ever be expressed by Hofmannsthal himself. That pain is a ‘furchtbares Aufschrecken’ and ‘restloses Verstörtsein’, coupling the ideas of shock and continuous mourning. Shock evokes the idea of “Sternstunde” as it is not just an emotional shock but a historical shock, or juncture, belonging to the first-person plural, immediately defined in universal terms:

In dieser einhelligen Getroffenheit wußten wir alle, intuitive das ganze Österreich, das ganze Deutschland, wußte die Welt, daß mit ihm ein Unwiederbringliches genommen war – nun aber erst erkennen wir, warum seine vorbildlich führende Gestalt uns niemals notwendiger gewesen ist als in der gegenwärtigen Stunde. Denn ein sonderbarer Geist oder Ungeist waltet jetzt in der Zeit, daß sie von der Kunst immer nur das Zeitliche will, immer nur das fließende Bildnis ihrer eigenen Unrast und Bewegtheit. Gleichgültig und feindlich geht sie vorüber an den großen symbolischen Formen, die das Dauernde ausdeuten wollen und das Obere der Welt. [...] dem Vergangenen, dem heilig Überkommenen weigert sie sich, nur Gegenwart, brennendes Heute will sie, und bestenfalls Blick in den nächsten Tag.⁴³³

⁴³¹ Zweig to Otto Heuschele, 24 September 1929: B III, pp. 250-251.

⁴³² Zweig to Romain Rolland, 20 July 1929: B III, p 243.

⁴³³ Stefan Zweig, ‘Hugo von Hofmannsthal’ [Address at a memorial service at the Wiener Burgtheater], reprinted in GWE *Das Geheimnis des künstlerischen Schaffens* (1984), pp. 279-292 (p. 279).

Zweig establishes a binary opposition between the symbolic forms of poetry and the plain reflection of modernity, 'Geist' and 'Ungeist', tradition and modernity, the past and the present. Hofmannsthal represents Geist, a timeless realm: '[er] stand allein wider diese Strömung der Stunde'. Rilke is the other 'Hüter des erhobenen Wortes' and their

fast gleichzeitige, sternhafte Entschwinden traf uns wie eine Mahnung, als wolle tatsächlich der Glaube an das Übergeordnet-Gesetzmäßige in der Kunst unsere Zeit jetzt verlassen, als sei es für immer zu Ende mit der Suprematie der reinen, zeitentwandten Dichtung im deutschen Schrifttum.⁴³⁴

The more Zweig elaborates this literary worldview, the more distant he becomes from his subject. It becomes less about Hofmannsthal in his complexity and more about a binary of temporality and timelessness, which is effectively an opposition between responding to and escaping from the times. Zweig sees the poet as standing against the 'Strömung der Stunde', recalling a familiar image of fixity, and neglects any development of the poet towards ideas such as *das Soziale*, or towards anything but aestheticism in the form of symbolic purity.

Undoubtedly, Hofmannsthal's reputation suffered over time, yet other eulogies often complicate the significance of the poet. Curtius attempts to re-define aestheticism as an advancement of the political and not in contrast to it, ultimately suggesting that a generation of poets contributed to an 'Erneuerung des Schönheitssinnes und neue Schönheit'.⁴³⁵ In other words, the focus on the *new* and *renewal* makes poetry an adaptive response to life and not an abstracted elevation from it. Max Rychner ends his tribute with a quoting Jakob Burckhardt: 'Die großen Individuen sind die Koinzidenz des Verharrenden und der Bewegung in einer Person'.⁴³⁶ Zweig's binary does not have the space for such a coincidence, offering instead the finality of loss and the fixity of poetic achievement. Schröder links the temporal and the eternal: 'Der Dichter wußte, dass alle Bedrängnis und alle Beseligung des lebendigen Augenblickes nichts waren vor dem Ewigen, dass aber alles Ewige nur durch diesen lebendigen Augenblick sich offenbaren konnte'.⁴³⁷ The reciprocity of the temporal and eternal becomes a means of showing the relevance of Hofmannsthal and is a *defence* of the poet from the image of serene abstraction. In Curtius's words: 'Wenn man Künstler ist, ist man immer mehr als Ästhet. Der

⁴³⁴ Ibid., p. 280.

⁴³⁵ Ernst Robert Curtius, 'Hofmannsthals deutsche Sendung', in *Hugo von Hofmannsthal: Worte des Gedenkens. Nachrufe aus dem Todesjahr 1929* [Zum 40. Todestag am 15. Juli 1969], ed. by Leonhard M. Fiedler (Heidelberg: Stiehm, 1969), pp. 75-82.

⁴³⁶ Max Rychner, 'Hofmannsthal und diese Zeit' (August 1929), reprinted in Fiedler, pp. 63-71 (p. 71).

⁴³⁷ Rudolf Alexander Schröder, 'In Memoriam Hugo von Hofmannsthal' (November 1929), reprinted in Fiedler, pp. 7-33 (p. 22).

Künstler schafft Leben durch Formen; und ist schon dadurch mit den Gründen des Lebens verbunden; mit einer Potenz also, die seiender und dauernder ist als Märkte und Maschinen'.⁴³⁸ While these eulogists defend Hofmannsthal's legacy by underlining the potential of aestheticism, Zweig limits any potential for interaction, deliberately making the poet stand *against* the temporal 'in das Obere der Welt'. This leads Zweig to mainly focus on the precocious emergence of the poet and the 'Wunder' of his youth 'in diesem Jahrzehnt vom siebzehnten bis siebenundzwanzigsten Jahre'.

Zweig shifts to a narrative of creative struggle. Having reached the height of his literary powers, '[e]ine ungeheure, fast tragische Verpflichtung stand nun vor dem Dreißigjährigen', which was to take the challenge of drama, 'die gewaltigste und anspruchsvollste der Kunstformen, zum Kampfe'. Hofmannsthal's 'moralische Leistung' and towards which 'sein leidenschaftlich und zum Schmerz gespannter Wille ging' was a world-theatre culminating ultimately in *Der Turm*, which was a creative struggle like Jacob with the Angel, 'und das ihn – gleich jenem – verwundet entließ'.⁴³⁹ Zweig transforms Hofmannsthal from innate genius, gifted by the Gods, to the struggling genius, as a way of hinging his two creative periods through the prism of absolute genius. Of course, Zweig's letters understand Hofmannsthal's later creative period differently – 'when the Gods took away his voice' – but here and later in *Die Welt von Gestern*, any complexity or corruption of the coherent legacy is avoided. He employs a fixed constant, his genius, to understand his subject, constructing an interpretation that simply points to the various iterations of greatness, as opposed to one that entertains a sense of development, fluctuation, incongruity.

The end returns to the conflict mapped out at the beginning to reassert how Hofmannsthal represented 'der unverbrechliche Zeuge für die Übermacht des Geistes über den Ungeist, des vollendet Geformten über das Chaotische und Ungeformte'.⁴⁴⁰ Not only is it important to show that this art offered coherence *against* or *above* the chaotic modern but the example of a still possible 'dem Absoluten dienende Kunst' highlights the 'große Verpflichtung' for those left behind. This is the first time Zweig emphasizes a *duty* to the legacy of the deceased:

Denn nur wenn wir Hugo von Hofmannsthals heroische Liebe zum Zeitlosen und Makellosen in uns eingehen lassen als lebendige Macht – nur, wenn wir uns gewöhnen, wieder aufzuschauen in jene oberen Sphären, in denen er gestaltet

⁴³⁸ Curtius, 'Hofmannsthals deutsche Sendung', p. 129.

⁴³⁹ Zweig, 'Hofmannsthal', pp. 285-87

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 292.

und in die er entschwunden – dann nur ehren wir wahrhaft diesen hingegangenen
und doch unvergänglichen Dichter – dann erst feiern wir würdig das Gedächtnis
Hugo von Hofmannsthal.⁴⁴¹

In comparison to 'Abschied von Rilke', which ended with a series of thanks and therefore with a focus on the eulogized figure, this address contains an explicit call to remember and embody, shifting the final thought towards an active contemporary response, that is, an artistic disengagement from the everyday in favour of the poetic search for timeless truth.

Hofmannsthal's death was the end of an era. If the shock of Rilke's death was countered by Zweig's own embodiment of Rilkean 'music' and ultimately by the elevation of an abstracted *Dichter*, the shock of Hofmannsthal's death provoked Zweig to distribute the task of embodiment to those that follow. The impersonality of the later eulogy allows the eulogist to reframe the text as both a call to remember and a call to channel the moral spirit towards the eternal.

Arthur Schnitzler (d. 21.10.1931)

Rilke and Hofmannsthal, as pure *Dichter*, are eulogized through a distanced exceptionality, a certain untouchability and a respectful, awestruck [*ehrfürchtig*] impersonality. After the deaths of Schnitzler, Bahr and later Roth and Freud, Zweig articulates a less hyperbolic and more personal reverence, appropriate for figures with whom he maintained continuous friendships. That said, the contexts of these eulogies inform the direction and function of these writings.

Zweig's friendship with Schnitzler began in 1908 and lasted until Schnitzler's death. In birthday addresses, Zweig frequently pointed to his generation's inability to uproot the previous one, and Schnitzler was the exemplary figure of that Jung Wien, 'in denen die spezifisch österreichische Kultur durch eine Verfeinerung aller Kunstmittel zum erstenmal europäischen Ausdruck fand' (WVG, p. 72). Nowhere is Schnitzler made to be more exemplary than in Zweig's two brief eulogies and their significance is greater given Schnitzler's ultimate demotion in *Die Welt von Gestern*. In the memoirs, having lauded the rise of an Austrian literary aestheticism, Zweig depicts the same generation as a group 'die durch Samtjacken und wallendes Haar, durch niederhängende Stirnlocken wie etwa meine verehrten Freunde Arthur Schnitzler und Hermann Bahr, oder durch auffallende Barttracht und extravagante Kleidung sich schon auf der Straße

⁴⁴¹ Ibid., p. 292.

erkenntlich machen wollten' (WVG, p. 348). Further, Zweig justifies pushing the Austrian literary milieu into the background:

Aber alles, was nicht mehr Bindungen zu den Problemen unserer heutigen Zeit hat, bleibt verfallen vor unserem strengerem Maß für Wesentliches. Heute erscheinen mir längst jene Männer meiner Jugend, die meinen Blick auf das Literarische hinlenkten, weniger wichtig als jene, die ihn wegleiteten zur Wirklichkeit. (WVG, p. 198)

This passage reinterprets Zweig's own history by reliving it predominantly through the men of action – Rathenau enters immediately after. Yet, in Zweig's eulogies for Schnitzler, he represents 'der Österreicher' as both close to the real life of Austria and as a moral example, a function that he does not represent in the memoirs. By looking back at the eulogies, the immediate responses to the death of a friend, we can re-establish the importance of Schnitzler for the eulogist-Zweig against the memoirist-Zweig and show the overlap of reality and literature, albeit with the limitations of the ever-present frame of 'reines Dichtertum'.

The link between the real and literary worlds emerges in Zweig's reaction to Schnitzler's death, which provoked Zweig to restart his diary, discontinued since the end of the First World War. He explains this in the first entry:

Plötzlich habe ich mich entschlossen, nach Jahren der Pause wieder ein Tagebuch zu führen. Die Gründe dafür das Vorempfinden, daß wir kritischen, kriegstagsähnlichen Zeiten entgegengehen, die documentarische Niederlage ebenso fordern wie seinerzeit die großen Reisen oder die Zeit des Krieges. Ich meine und erwarte keine Conflagration mit Waffen, nur innere soziale Umstürze, bei uns vielleicht eine faschistisch-heimwehrliche Revolte. Jedesfalls, es tut gut, sich wieder einmal zur Wachsamkeit zu erziehen.

Unmittelbaren Anstoß bot, daß man mir gestern nachts von der Neuen Freien Presse telefonierte, Schnitzler sei gestorben. Der Tod von Menschen ergreift mich wenig, wenn nicht Tragik für ihre Familie damit verbunden ist und ihr Werk erfüllt ist – dieser war nach Hiobs Wort 'müde und des Lebens satt'. Aber doch, Erinnerungen waren damit verbunden, Dankbarkeit und die Ehrfurcht vor einem Menschen, der so wundervoll Maß zu halten wußte - viel mehr als ich, aber vielleicht auch, weil er nicht viel von sich persönlich hergab, sich nicht stark herauswagte und stärker auf sich und in sich centriert war. Aber welche noble

Gestalt! Ich weiß, daß er mich von Anfang gerne hatte auf eine sichere Art – zu activer Freundschaft war schon zu alt, aber er gab mir ab, soviel er noch damals an Jüngere geben konnte und wollte. Ich habe ein paar Worte des Gedenkens geschrieben, hastig aber zumindest ohne falsches Zuviel und ohne die öffentlich erstickte Thräne in der Kehle.⁴⁴²

Zweig gives two reasons for restarting his diary: the necessity to document a period he feels augurs social upheaval; and the death of Arthur Schnitzler. Without overstating the significance of the death, something Zweig explicitly tries to avoid in this entry, there is an equation between the impact of social unrest and the loss of a literary master. '[E]in paar Worte des Gedenkens' were published the same day under the title 'Schnitzler. Der Österreicher'.⁴⁴³ The death is further politicized when Zweig reports on the funeral:

Bericht über Schnitzlers Begräbnis. Keine Condolenz des Bundespräsidenten, kein Minister am Sarge, die Universität schweigt – recht, so nur klare Verhältnisse. Nicht paktieren mit diesen Leuten, alles refüsieren. Je weniger sie sind, desto stärker fühlen sie sich in ihrem Dunkel! Und sich immer bestärken im Gefühl, was hier geschieht, geht einen innerlich nichts an. Weiter gearbeitet, vielmehr scizziert.⁴⁴⁴

This lack of official tribute for a Jewish figure made Zweig agitate for 'endlich eine activere Haltung gegen die immer frecheren Demonstrationen des Ungeists in Österreich gegen die Geistigen'. Zweig lambasts 'das "Vergessen" einer Condolenz von seiten des Bundespräsidenten bei dem Tod des größten österreichischen Dichters'.⁴⁴⁵ This backdrop escalates the importance of Schnitzler's death and Zweig's own response, as it becomes symbolic of the disintegration of Austrian culture. Zweig's second text on Schnitzler does not mention the lack of official response, which indicates it was composed immediately after the death.⁴⁴⁶ The differences between the two eulogies are partly a function of their publication contexts, Vienna and Berlin respectively, but both reflect a personal relationship and reserve 'ohne falsches Zuviel und ohne die öffentlich erstickte Thräne in der Kehle'.

⁴⁴² 22 October 1931, GWE *Tagebücher* (1984), pp. 343-44.

⁴⁴³ Stefan Zweig, 'Schnitzler. Der Österreicher', *Neue Freie Presse* (22 October 1931), p. 3.

⁴⁴⁴ 24 October 1931, GWE *Tagebücher* (1984), pp. 344.

⁴⁴⁵ Zweig to Felix Salten, 2 November 1931: B III, p. 303.

⁴⁴⁶ Stefan Zweig, 'Erinnerungen an Arthur Schnitzler', *Die literarische Welt* (6 November 1931), reprinted in *Briefwechsel mit Hermann Bahr, Sigmund Freud, Rainer Maria Rilke und Arthur Schnitzler* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1987), pp. 492-493.

For Zweig, both Hofmannsthal and Schnitzler's deaths represented the end of Austria, yet their Austrianness differed. If Zweig could write about Hofmannsthal, 'Immer ist ein Teil der Seele des Österreichers Musik',⁴⁴⁷ Schnitzler was more connected to his society. Everything the wider world knows 'von der durch besondere Mischung und Geschick bedingten Lebensart Österreichs [...], das wissen sie durch ihn und durch ihn allein'. Schnitzler is a 'wahrer Zeuge' and, amidst Austria's waning world-political and endangered spiritual ('geistig') power, he has presented his homeland 'unbeirrt und unverändert von der Gegenwart und Geschichte als ein Lebendiges'.⁴⁴⁸ The Austrian aesthetic is no longer aesthetic musicality but the embodiment of the social and spiritual contradictions of the multi-cultural nation:

Denn alle Elemente unserer gemischten und eben durch Vermischung eigenartigen Nation waren in seinem weiträumigen Werke lebenswirklich vertreten, die alte, die neue Zeit und ihr Übergang, Adel und Bürgertum, die Stadt und das Rand, das Sterben und doch nicht Sterbenwollen unserer Kultur, der innere Glaube des Österreichers und sein skeptisches Nichtansichglaubenwollen, seine Melancholie und seine Ironie, all dieses merkwürdig und einmalig Verbundene, das keine Formel ausdrücken kann, und das nur anschaulich wird durch wahrhaft gesehen Gestalten eines Dichters.⁴⁴⁹

The only thing Schnitzler leaves opaque is the writer himself, allowing Zweig, in a familiar formulation, to assert 'wer ihn kannte [...] nur der weiß, aus welcher inneren Fülle jenes außerordentliche Wissen um seine Zeit, um seine Welt entstanden war'. It facilitates a personal impression of a man who was 'immer ebenmäßig in seiner Güte'. Ultimately, Zweig highlights his inner freedom to have no duty but to his own work, which reveals 'uns Jüngeren ein Vorbild exemplarischen Lebens und reinen Dichtertums'. If Hofmannsthal's exemplarity derives from a detachment from reality, Schnitzler's derives from a detachment from duty to 'das alte Oesterreich und nicht das neue, nicht das Kaisertum und nicht die Republik'. Rather, his duty was as 'wahre[r] Zeuge' of the complex Austrian idea and reality. Zweig concludes: 'kein Kreuz und keine Krone schmücken diesen teuren Sarg. Und doch birgt diese tragische Hülle den repräsentativen Dichter Oesterreichs, einen unvergeßlichen Meister und unseren geliebtesten Führer'. For the eulogist, Schnitzler's work embodies the Austrian idea precisely because it is free from any single Austrian aspect, authority or grand narrative.

⁴⁴⁷ Zweig, 'Hofmannsthal', p. 290.

⁴⁴⁸ Zweig, 'Schnitzler. Der Österreicher'.

⁴⁴⁹ 'Erinnerungen an Arthur Schnitzler', p. 492-93.

‘Erinnerungen an Arthur Schnitzler’, published in Berlin, does not emphasize the Austrianness of the deceased. It focuses more on the man, concluding with his *moral* exemplarity. The simplicity of the rhetoric stands out, when Zweig notes how Schnitzler was ‘wunderbar warm und teilnehmend, wenn man allein mit ihm sprach’.⁴⁵⁰ Zweig knew ‘unter allen Künstlern der Zeit habe ich kaum einen gütigeren gekannt und gewiß (außer Rolland) keinen gerechteren’ and he demotes the literary qualities in favour of his humanity:

Wieviel er als Dichter gilt, steht in den Literaturgeschichten und kann doch jeder nur für sich allein bemessen; mit dem Menschen aber ist einer der neunundneunzig Gerechten dahingegangen, auf denen nach der alten Legende der Bestand unseres moralischen Weltalls ruht.⁴⁵¹

Zweig’s familiar emphasis on the man behind the artist often neglects the literature itself while rendering the figure exceptional. A morality then emerges through the elevation of the pure *Dichter* above the everyday, above *Ungeist*. Schnitzler also becomes ‘reine[r] Dichter’ and yet Zweig casts his work as fundamentally connected to reality and the complexity of Austrian society. Schnitzler is not linked to the end of an era in the same way as Rilke and Hofmannsthal and is instead a symbol for the productivity of *current* Austrian activity, being compared to Freud and Einstein in his letters. The death of ‘der Österreicher’ triggers Zweig’s social documentary impulse and the recommencement of his diary and, vice-versa, the understanding of Schnitzler’s death as an historical event serves to diminish the rhetoric and abstraction of the eulogies.

Hermann Bahr (d. 15.01.1934)

‘Abschied von Hermann Bahr’, published days after the death of ‘the literary Proteus and cultural seismograph’,⁴⁵² was in two ways the articulation of a farewell that had already taken place. Bahr’s poor health in his last months meant Zweig’s received his last letter from one of his closest Salzburg friends in November 1931.⁴⁵³ Zweig notes a visit to Bahr in November 1933, which makes for ‘triste Stunde’, as the near-blind Bahr suffers from, ‘man wagt es kaum niederschreiben, eine Art Verblödung’, and Zweig can only wish him a quick death.⁴⁵⁴ Second, Bahr’s emblematic Austrianness, albeit defined by a vitality pinned to the present, represented

⁴⁵⁰ Zweig, ‘Erinnerungen an Arthur Schnitzler’, p. 492.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., p. 492-93.

⁴⁵² Donald Daviau, *Hermann Bahr* (Boston: Twayne, 1985), preface.

⁴⁵³ Polt-Heinzl, p. 528.

⁴⁵⁴ 19 November 1933, GWE *Tagebücher* (1984), p. 351.

an irretrievable past. In the days before Bahr's death, Zweig reiterates how he was unmoved by recent deaths, precisely because the deceased were unsuited to the times:

Sie werden es pessimistisch finden oder vielleicht inhuman, wenn ich Ihnen sage, daß mich der Tod Wassermanns ebenso wie jener Schnitzlers und Hoffmannsthals [sic] nicht sehr erschüttert hat. Denn bei Schnitzler weiß ich, wie sehr zurecht [sic] er gestorben war, er hätte die deutsche Sache, empfindlich wie er war, nicht ertragen.⁴⁵⁵

History had outstripped these figures; Zweig had effectively already mourned the era of which they were emblematic.

Bahr's death arrived at a time of intense change in Zweig's personal and political climate. Fifteen of his books had been marked on the November 1933 list of banned titles announced by the *Börsenverein des Deutschen Buchhandels* and growing police vigilance culminated in an arbitrary search of his property, which led to Zweig's decision to leave Austria.⁴⁵⁶ It is a coincidence that Zweig had to write another farewell to perhaps *the* representative of 'dieses geistige Österreich', Hermann Bahr, one month before he gave official notice of his departure from Austria. But it is a farewell that had already been signalled, so much so that Bahr's Austrianness remains inconspicuous until the end of the eulogy.

If the eulogies for Schnitzler presented a true witness to the social dynamics of Austria, 'Abschied von Hermann Bahr' is a tribute to aestheticist virtuosity. Zweig celebrates Bahr's vitality, abundance of knowledge, productivity, generosity, and unrestricted enthusiasm, all of which makes up 'der Begriff Österreich als einer autochtonen Kulturidee'.⁴⁵⁷ The eulogy draws no attention to contemporary society and instead treats its subject in isolation, so that Zweig ultimately does not contextualize Bahr's impact: 'Er hat unsere Jugend gelehrt: Ehrfurcht vor der Kunst, Freude an der Gegenwart, Lust an der Bejahung und Dankbarkeit als eine heilige Pflicht'.⁴⁵⁸ While Hofmannsthal's pure poetry was defined against the *Ungeist* of the times, Zweig only focuses on aspects of Bahr's production. The result is less a lament for an irrevocable loss, and more a renewal of enthusiasm for literary achievement.

⁴⁵⁵ Zweig to Lavinia Mazzuchetti, 9 January 1934: B IV, p. 83.

⁴⁵⁶ Matuschek, *Drei Leben*, pp. 266-68.

⁴⁵⁷ Stefan Zweig, 'Abschied von Hermann Bahr', *Neue Freie Presse* (20 January 1934), pp. 1-3, also in GWE *Das Geheimnis des künstlerischen Schaffens* (1984), pp. 209-216 (p. 215).

⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

Any potential contrast between Bahr and a hostile, philistine contemporary society is negated by Zweig's characterisation of the author as someone who '[m]it wirklicher Lust trank [...] die Luft seiner Zeit in sich ein'.⁴⁵⁹ By framing Bahr as Proteus, 'Herrn der ewigen Verwandlung', the present is swept up wholesale into Bahr's aesthetic and unanimously celebrated as new: 'er suchte nur das Neue, das Stimulierende'.⁴⁶⁰ Having introduced Bahr in the eulogy as '[e]in riesiges Stück Leben', Zweig draws together living and writing:

Schreiben bedeutete deshalb für ihn niemals eine Mühsal, [...] sondern ein inneres Müssen, ein Entlastungsbedürfnis für den Überschuß an Vitalität, der kochend und pulsend ihm bis in die Fingerspitzen drang und nicht entlastet war, ehe sich nicht der Gedanke in Wort und Schrift geformt.⁴⁶¹

It integrates aesthetic practice as fundamental to life but also acts as a defence for Bahr's style, whose playfulness, triviality, insubstantiality, becomes a consequence of a natural impulse: 'es war eine Art Atmen im Wort, eine fortgesetzte Konversation, die manchmal die Schrift wählte [...]'.⁴⁶² Bahr is the model of excess and 'konnte großmütig, großherzig, konnte verschwenderisch mit sich sein', or, in other words, his hyperbole in the role of non-critical critic was a generous wastefulness. Zweig's ultimate emphasis is less on Bahr's insights and more on his approach to the aesthetic life and on his generosity to his friends ('der Verlässlichste der Freunde') and readership.

Zweig explicitly forgoes predicting Bahr's legacy, suggesting it would be an impossible but also dishonourable task: 'Unwürdig scheint es mir, an einem noch schmerzlich frischen Grab voreilig die geistige Hinterlassenschaft eines geliebten Menschen beschwätzen und bewerten zu wollen'. Yet he suggests 'daß er und er allein, oft verhöhnt und verspottet, dieses geistige Österreichertum erschaffen [hat]' and, finally:

Er hat unsere Jugend gelehrt: Ehrfurcht vor der Kunst, Freude an der Gegenwart, Lust an der Bejahung und Dankbarkeit als seine heilige Pflicht. Er hat uns vorbildlich dargetan, daß jeder Enthusiasmus die Seele erweitert, daß, wer sich der Jugend verbündet, sich selber verjüngt, und daß starke Dankbarkeit, stark und

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 210.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 211.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid., p. 213.

⁴⁶² Ibid., p. 213.

leidenschaftlich auszusagen, wo man menschlichen Wert und künstlerische Leistung empfangen, edlere Art ist als alle scheue und träge Verhaltnheit.⁴⁶³

Zweig's own 'stark und leidenschaftlich' tribute to Bahr therefore acts on the imperative inaugurated and embodied by his subject. By avoiding contextualising Bahr's significance in a time he elsewhere called *ungeistig*, Zweig utilizes the eulogy to reinforce the pursuit of cultural novelty and expression, rather than signal the tragedy or predestination of the failure of the same task. The end therefore does not present a call to simply remember nostalgically but to understand the continual connection with Bahr's writing, 'daß diese Stunde des Abschieds keineswegs unsere erkenntliche Verbundenheit endet'.⁴⁶⁴ That continuity is not restricted to twentieth-century Austrian but relates to a deeper heritage illustrated by the eulogy's main reference point, Goethe, 'sein ewiges Vorbild'. In the epigraph and further references to Goethe, Zweig deliberately contextualizes Bahr in a broad European or universal literary heritage.

The lack of official tribute for Schnitzler ignited Zweig's renewed political reflections and he framed his eulogy explicitly in terms of Austrianness. In the years between the two deaths, Zweig's growing disillusionment with Austrian politics, the threat to his own security and to the future of his German publications, as well as the growing distance from his homeland, contributed to a different emphasis in the eulogy for another towering Austrian figure. What Zweig described in 1931 as 'ein Oesterreich, welches in seiner weltpolitischen Macht längst vergangen und in seiner geistigen lebensgefährlich bedroht ist' becomes in 1934 'dieses geistige Österreichertum', that is less an entity to mourn and more an aesthetic life approach that will continue to resonate.

13 The Exile Eulogies: Moissi, Drinkwater, Roth, Freud, Herrmann-Neiße

In June 1935, Zweig declared 'J'ai trouvé un nouvel héros', Sebastian Castellio, the French preacher of religious tolerance in the era of John Calvin.

Quelle ressemblance avec notre époque, quel Hitler ce Calvin austere, ennemi de la liberté (sauf celle qu'il preche lui-meme et transforme en loi dure), - et quel libre

⁴⁶³ Ibid., pp. 214-15.

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 216.

esprit ce Castellion, ce pauvre, cet isolé, cet Erasmiens sans la caustique [sic], sans la faiblesse de celui-là.⁴⁶⁵

This new hero led to a new biography, an intensification of his *Erasmus*. Zweig goes one step further in *Castellio gegen Calvin* and created 'das Bild eines Mannes, der ich sein möchte'.⁴⁶⁶ The titles of the Erasmus and Castellio biographies show the shift, as '*Triumph und Tragik*' becomes '*Ein Gewissen gegen die Gewalt*', the second overtly *combatting* violence, while the first contains the defeatism of the Erasmiens position. Nonetheless, Zweig was restrained in his political engagement, biography being his major outlet for political suggestion. Zweig's moral exemplars served his persistent call to remember the potential of the cultural spirit and '[d]ieser Glaube und die Kraft des Geistes sollte sich bis zum Schluss wie ein roter Faden durch seine Werke ziehen [...]'.⁴⁶⁷ This belief also forms the literary context for the eulogies in the exile period.

Alexander Moissi (d. 23.03.1935)

In contrast to the responses to the deaths of Matkowsky and Kainz, Zweig's 'Abschied von Alexander Moissi' does not take up his early creative approach to remembering actors.⁴⁶⁸ There is no place for experiment in a drastically different social context twenty-five years later, as Zweig instrumentalizes his presentation in Milan to reinforce, if not *resuscitate*, another emblem of theatrical Vienna.

Zweig focuses first on the actor's voice, recalling his tribute to Kainz, 'Die Stimme':

[...] denn es war eine neue Stimme, anders als die andern, ein neuer, ein süßer Ton war darin, unvergeßlich und unverkennbar, wenn man ihn nur einmal gehört. Sie war harmonischer, gebundener, weicher, melodischer als die deutschen Stimmen, ein goldener, warmer Ton schwang in ihr, als hätte Südwind sie über die Berge mit linder Schwinge getragen, und wir, wir spürten das Italienische in ihr, das uns sonst auf der Bühne nur im Gesange beglückt.⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶⁵ Zweig to Romain Rolland, 2 July 1935: B IV, pp. 123-124.

⁴⁶⁶ Zweig to Joseph Roth, Autumn 1937, p. 361.

⁴⁶⁷ Marlen Eckl, 'Literatur des Exils', in HB, pp. 86-102 (p. 91).

⁴⁶⁸ Stefan Zweig, 'Abschied von Alexander Moissi', presentation in Milan (5 June 1935), reprinted in GWE *Das Geheimnis des künstlerischen Schaffens* (1984), pp. 274-278.

⁴⁶⁹ Zweig, 'Abschied von Alexander Moissi', p. 274.

Zweig presents the southern European melody of Moissi's Italian-inflected German as comparable only to music. Where music is normally employed by Zweig to sublimate the material to the immaterial and transcend art to an ideal, pure realm, Moissi's voice is given tangible qualities of warmth and softness and it is ultimately 'felt' ['wir spürten'] by Zweig and his audience. Kainz's voice in 'Die Stimme' played a similar role, breaking into the silence to give body to the deceased. In Zweig's story *Die spät bezahlte Schuld*, voice becomes "'Sitz der Seele" und Substitut von Persönlichkeit und Identität'.⁴⁷⁰ By evoking Moissi's voice, Zweig rematerializes the actor and the presentation acts precisely to substitute the lost personality.

Zweig's intellectual exemplars are often physically delicate, weak, or defeated on a superficial level in order to intensify the morality of their spiritual achievement. The same balance is at play, whose 'knabenhaft schlanke[r] Körper war eine brennende Seele, in diesem hellenisch schönen Haupte ein wacher und begieriger Geist'.⁴⁷¹ Devoted to creativity, Moissi represents the model apolitical cosmopolitan: 'Der wahrhaft universalische Schauspieler unserer Zeit zu sein, an nichts gebunden und allem verbunden'.⁴⁷²

The eulogist makes two demands on the audience. First, he forbids thinking of Moissi as lost, as he must be remembered in his vivacity: 'Wie es fassen, daß wir hier "Moissi" sagen und damit den Lebendigen, den ewig in uns Lebendigen meinen und nicht ein Nichts, das nicht mehr spricht und atmet und glüht'. Those recollections depend on the materiality of his presence: 'denken wir die Stunden wieder in uns wach, da wir rasch hinter die Bühne drängten, nur rasch ihn zu umarmen oder nur seine Hand zu fassen, denken wir, nein, fühlen wir die Wärme'.⁴⁷³ Second, this embodiment of the deceased culminates by effectively conjuring Moissi into the room in an act of communal resuscitation:

Halten wir inne mit dem Wort, das ihn nicht mehr erreicht, um noch einmal im Schweigen seine Stimme von innen zu vernehmen, um noch einmal mit dem geistigen Blick seine geliebte Gestalt zu sehen, jeder für sich, jeder in seiner eigenen Seele. Dann ist er nicht allein mit sich in seinem Tode, dann ist er nicht verschwunden, sondern als geliebter Freund, als unverlierbare Gestalt in unserer Mitte, der große Künstler [...] den wir verloren haben und doch nicht verlieren wollen.⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷⁰ Marlen Mairhofer, *Die spät bezahlte Schuld*, in HB, pp. 295-300 (p. 299).

⁴⁷¹ Zweig, 'Abschied von Alexander Moissi', p. 274.

⁴⁷² Ibid., p. 276.

⁴⁷³ Ibid., p. 277.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 278.

‘Abschied von Alexander Moissi’ is Zweig’s clearest example of presentification [*Vergegenwärtigung*] through the genre of eulogy. He brings to the fore the visceral experience of the deceased and with it the cultural ideals which frame the remembrance. In contrast to Rilke and Hofmannsthal, Moissi is not presented as irrevocably lost but fully present, marking Zweig’s shift from the tragic, defeated, distanced aspects of the deceased to the potential of remembrance as action. This is not apparent in all of the eulogies, as Gelber generalizes in his sense of ‘marshalling life forces’, rather it is a shift in emphasis. Zweig’s exile development towards literary *action* must sit in the background of his presentation on his friend Alexander Moissi.

John Drinkwater (d. 25.03.1937)

Zweig’s new environment brought him into contact with writers such as John Drinkwater and Hugh Walpole, to whom he refers as ‘[g]erade die beiden, denen ich mich näher zu verbinden begonnen hatte’ (WVG, p. 418). Drinkwater’s premature death in 1937 provoked a tribute from Zweig, which is an anomalous example of anecdotal reflection. Unlike in the Austrian context, here Zweig was free from the responsibility of coopting the poet and dramatist’s life and work into a greater narrative and his article offers a simple response to the loss of one his only close friends in less familiar surroundings. The first-person plural address, responsible to a readership, gives way to the first-person singular address, responsible to the relationship between eulogist and eulogized.

Zweig first reflects on the genre:

Abschiednehmen ist eine schwere Kunst, die das Herz hartnäckig sich weigert zu erlernen; jedesmal steht man mit neuer Beklommenheit vor einem neuen Verlust. Selten aber habe ich den Tod eines Kameraden, eines Freundes so schreckhaft-jäh und so erschüttert empfunden wie den John Drinkwaters. Ich liebte diesen großen englischen Dichter sehr [...].⁴⁷⁵

Elsewhere, Zweig employs a rhetoric of impossibility so that in the cases of Rilke or Hofmannsthal only the poets themselves could come close to articulating their loss. Here, shorn of florid rhetoric, Zweig accepts that his inarticulacy develops with each death. Zweig also implies at the end that he has begun to take stock of the number close friends he has lost over

⁴⁷⁵ Zweig, ‘Abschied von John Drinkwater’, p. 154.

his lifetime. Fronting his inarticulacy towards the deaths of friends, Zweig denies this text the space for any rhetorical strategy of self-effacement. The opening line becomes both a trite reflection on eulogizing and a plain acceptance of the difficulty and artifice of the genre.

The anecdote that takes up the majority of the text recounts an evening at a private screening of Drinkwater's film *The King's People*. The company at the screening involved many of the characters featured in the film itself, including George Bernard Shaw and Lady Astor. Zweig focuses on the uncanniness of 'diese Spiegelung einer doppelten Realität' when Bernard Shaw is there in person and on screen. The double reality soon provokes 'ein bedrücktes Schweigen' as the recently deceased Austen Chamberlain appears on screen: 'Ein Toter sollte plötzlich in unsern lebendigen Kreis treten'. The ghostly disturbance evaporates with Chamberlain's disappearance and 'man ging auf die Straße und freute nach dem künstlichen sich des lebendigen Lichts'.⁴⁷⁶ Zweig delays his thank you note to Drinkwater for the evening and learns two days later that Drinkwater had died. The farewell ends:

Den ich gestern noch gesehen, lebend und heiter neben dem Schattenspiel seines Lebens, er ist selbst nun bei den Schatten, und verstört, verwirrt, mit vergebens tastenden und ohnmächtig niedersinkenden Händen blickt unsere Liebe ihm nach.⁴⁷⁷

In the text originally entitled 'Schattenspiel des Lebens', the theme of double presence does not simply work at face value but takes on further significance in a eulogy context. Eulogies often rematerialize lost figures, replaying the reel of life events, and construct a presence for an audience. The eulogies for the actors Matkowsky, Kainz and Moissi bring voice to life through the evocation of further media (stage and vinyl record) and create an image that resonates in the physicality of its expression. In the text for Drinkwater, there is a shift away from the body to the image of the shadow. In other words, there is a process of de-materialization that accompanies the death. Printed the day after the death, Zweig's immediate response does not have the space to consider re-shaping the legacy. The text focuses on the death and not its active inversion through conventional immortalising rhetoric. It allows itself to be uncertain and disturbed by the loss ('verstört, verwirrt') and the undermining of the ability to bid farewell at all leaves the representation of mourning open-ended and unsatisfactory.

Describing his discovery of the news, Zweig evokes an idea of responsibility: 'Aber wieder, zum wievieltenmal im Leben, empfang ich die Mahnung, nie einen Dank, nie eine Geste

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 155-56.

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 157.

der Freundschaft um einen Tag und nur um eine Stunde zu verzögern'.⁴⁷⁸ He regrets a certain negligence as a friend to so many now lost. By framing the eulogy as difficult and unsatisfactory from the beginning, and by offering an anecdote rather than an empathetic reconstruction of the lost person, the eulogy portrays a failure to mourn. Privileging the shadow of loss above the immortalized body, the text can only reach out 'mit vergebens tastenden und ohnmächtig niedersinkenden Händen'.

c. Joseph Roth (d. 27.05.1939)

Joseph Roth died in Paris only five days after Ernst Toller had committed suicide in New York. The death of two close friends shook Zweig, both representing the human cost of a destructive European politics. Zweig decided against going to Paris for Roth's memorial, gathering instead with hundreds exiles to remember Roth at Conway Hall in London on 24 June 1939.⁴⁷⁹ Zweig's memorial address responds directly to the circumstances of the death and the context of the presentation itself. It is impossible to read the eulogy simply for its rhetorical similarities to Zweig's other examples of the genre. Gelber's thematic reading of eulogy falls short most acutely in the address for Joseph Roth, precisely because the presentation depends both on the construction of an essential and thematic portrait of the deceased, but also on the necessity to exploit the platform for literary political action.

Zweig's *Castellio gegen Calvin* presented 'die Darstellung eines kämpferischen Humanismus, der die Möglichkeiten des intellektuellen Widerstands gegen den Totalitarismus aufzeigte'.⁴⁸⁰ In other words, despite a certain distance from *Tagespolitik*, it opens space for a *combative* humanism, an approach that is shared by Zweig's memorial address for Roth. Zweig's political engagement through this eulogy is a consequence of both the climate and the nature of the friendship he commemorated. That friendship was often strained, as Roth became financially dependent on Zweig, but it continued to be a robust exchange of literary and political ideas and a genuine fraternity:

Zweig gab ihm [...] auch mehrfach Tage und Wochen seiner Aufmerksamkeit, in der Form von gemeinsamen Arbeiten am gleichen Ort, freundschaftlichem

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid., pp. 156-57.

⁴⁷⁹ Matuschek, *Drei Leben*, p. 320.

⁴⁸⁰ Stephan Resch, 'Kunst und Politik', in HB, pp. 702-707 (p. 706).

Beisammensein und gemeinsamen geregelten Tagesabläufen; das war schon sehr viel und verdient den Namen eines brüderlichen Verhältnisses.⁴⁸¹

Roth delivered detailed critiques of both Zweig's style – often too decorated, inaccurate, unconcise – and his wavering political engagement, of which Roth cannot be accused. The critical nature of his most direct of friends might have provoked this most engaged of eulogies, in the eulogist's ultimate responsibility to do justice to his friend.

Rearticulating the frame of 'Abschied von John Drinkwater', the address for Roth begins:

Abschiednehmen, diese schwere und bittere Kunst zu erlernen, haben uns die letzten Jahre reichlich, ja überreichlich Gelegenheit geboten. Von wie vielem und wie oft haben wir Ausgewanderte, Ausgestoßene Abschied nehmen müssen, von der Heimat, von dem eigenen gemäßen Wirkungskreis, von Haus und Besitz und aller in Jahren erkämpften Sicherheit. Wieviel haben wir verloren, immer wieder verloren, Freunde durch Tod oder Feigheit des Herzens, und wieviel Gläubigkeit vor allem, Gläubigkeit an die friedliche und gerechte Gestaltung der Welt, Gläubigkeit an den endlichen und endgültigen Sieg des Rechts über die Gewalt.⁴⁸²

The difficulty of bidding farewell is expanded to consider the many paradigms of departure that Zweig and the exile community of intellectuals have experienced. Inevitably, the context of the tribute demands that it is understood as emblematic of the European crisis. In contrast to the Drinkwater tribute, *Abschiednehmen* is not impossible, rather it becomes a difficult art form that the current generation of eulogists have begrudgingly had to practise. There is a hard-won pragmatism in this formulation that anticipates the practical call to action at the end.

Zweig introduces the subject ('ein solcher unersetzlicher Mensch') and depicts Roth's life and work as contingent on his Russian, Jewish and Austrian identity, corresponding to his passion, critical intelligence and musicality respectively. The reduction to ethnic explanation betrays Zweig's continual linkage to Taine's philosophy and this ethnic interpretation resonated, as 'Zweigs Rede liefert jedoch bereits die zentralen Parameter der weiteren Roth-Rezeption'.⁴⁸³

⁴⁸¹ Heinz Lunzer, 'Nachwort', *Jede Freundschaft mit mir ist verderblich: Joseph Roth und Stefan Zweig: Briefwechsel 1927-1938*, ed. by Madeleine Rietra and Rainer Joachim Siegel (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2011), pp. 573-610 (p. 607).

⁴⁸² Stefan Zweig, 'Joseph Roth' [Memorial address at a gathering for Joseph Roth and Ernst Toller at Conway Hall, London], 24 June 1939, printed in *Österreichische Post* (Paris), 1 July 1939, pp. 1-2, also in *Europäisches Erbe*, pp. 251-264 (p. 251).

⁴⁸³ Christoph Parry, 'Joseph Roth in der Augen der Nachwelt', in *Joseph Roth: Europäisch-jüdischer Schriftsteller und österreichischer Universalist*, ed. by Mira Miladinović Zalaznik and Johann Georg Lughofer (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), pp. 303-313 (p. 304).

By including Zweig's eulogy in a reception survey, Parry cannot attend to the singularity of the presentation in its full context. Zweig's ethnic explanation is actually preceded by a defence of the author's legacy in a political context: 'unvergeßbar als Mensch und für alle Zeiten durch kein Dekret als Dichter auszubürgern aus den Annalen der deutschen Kunst'.⁴⁸⁴ The ethnic identification is no longer simply part of Zweig's tendency to essentialize, rather it becomes a pointed reinsertion of ethnic diversity into contemporary understanding of German culture. Thus, Zweig emphasizes Jewish devotion to the German language, in contradiction to Nazi propaganda:

Es ist hier nicht die Stunde, mit den Lügen und Verleumdungen abzurechnen, mit welchen die nationalsozialistische Propaganda die Welt zu verdummen sucht. Aber von all ihren Lügen ist vielleicht keine verlogener, gemeiner und wahrheitswidriger als diejenige, daß die Juden in Deutschland jemals Haß oder Feindseligkeit geäußert hätten wider deutsche Kultur. Im Gegenteil, gerade in Österreich konnte man unwidersprechlich gewahren, daß in all jenen Randgebieten, wo der Bestand der deutschen Sprache bedroht war, die Pflege der deutschen Kultur einzig und allein von Juden aufrechterhalten wurde.⁴⁸⁵

Zweig's framing of German culture through the cosmopolitan model paves the way for a combative political rhetoric, emphasising Roth's own investment in the same struggle.

Zweig employs a more sober, prosaic style that focuses on life details and is devoid of the florid rhetoric deemed appropriate for the likes of Hofmannsthal. Like 'Abschied von Rilke', the Roth tribute effects an empathetic imitation of style in the spirit of authentic engagement. If, typically, 'Roth beherrschte und verwendete die Sprache exakter, konsequenter und klarer', and 'Zweig war [...] laxer beim Schreiben', the eulogy absorbs the clarity of his subject's style without losing all of his familiar penchant for 'das Mitklingen, den evozierten Eindruck, die Dramatik der psychologischen Entwicklung'.⁴⁸⁶ Roth's own skill 'als einen der brilliantesten, scharfsichtigen Darsteller menschlicher Zustände',⁴⁸⁷ his journalistic precision and his impoverished existence, do not allow Zweig to evoke the sublime as elsewhere. The moderated rhetoric is also a result of the relative lack of focus on Roth's literature itself. Zweig only mentions *Hiob*, *Radetzkmarsch* and *Der Kapuzinergruft* by name, the first emblematic of Roth's Jewishness, the latter two emblematic of his Austrianness: 'die wahrste Grabinschrift der alten

⁴⁸⁴ Zweig, 'Joseph Roth', pp. 251-52.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 253.

⁴⁸⁶ Lunzer, p. 599.

⁴⁸⁷ Zweig, 'Joseph Roth', p. 255.

Monarchie'.⁴⁸⁸ Roth's literary legacy is briefly described as greater weight is given to the main imperative behind the eulogy – the active response to the downfall of European culture in Roth's example.

Zweig depicts Roth's self-destruction a result of the fact, 'daß er, als er die Unmöglichkeit einsah, dies Böse auf Erden aus eigener Kraft zu zerstören, sich selber zu zerstören begann'.⁴⁸⁹ In Zweig's only extensive focus on the circumstances of the actual death among the eulogies, he diagnoses Roth's alcoholism as a 'Selbstverbrennung' and sees it as much a suicide as Ernst Toller's. Roth's demise is not the pre-determined fate of a tragic figure but was completely self-perpetuated:

Aber wie grauenhaft erst, mitansehen zu müssen, wenn solcher Zerfall nicht Schuld des äußeren Schicksals ist, sondern bei einem geliebten Menschen von inner her gewollt, wenn man einen innigsten Freund sich selber morden mitansehen muß, ohne ihn zurückreißen zu können!⁴⁹⁰

The idea of an inner will to destruction recalls the same sentiment expressed by Zweig and other eulogists for Rilke. The poet's philosophical and literary proximity to a limit experience is nevertheless in stark contrast to Roth's self-destruction. This is in part why the eulogies must be interpreted in their contexts. It is a mistake to equate the two writers' death drives, as death is not just a universal underlying 'theme' but is felt differently in each context. Rilke's treatment of death in life, variously interpreted as continuous thanatological obsession and literary philosophical experimentation, is discussed in eulogies as fated and ideal. Roth's death elicits a prosaic handling of a very real downfall and a tragic self-annihilation in the real world. This self-destruction is counteracted by Roth's continued productivity and his consistent insight and quality: 'Sie werden keinen Sprung finden in ihrer diamantenen Reinheit, keine Trübung in ihrer Klarheit'. Zweig's modest commemoration of the life and work does not ultimately elevate the figure and bestow immortality on the legacy, rather it concludes: 'Treuer seinem Genius als sich selber, hat er sich herrlich in seiner Kunst erhoben über seinen eigenen Untergang'.⁴⁹¹

However, Zweig departs from Roth to table a more pertinent task for the assembled audience:

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 257.

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 258-59.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 261.

⁴⁹¹ Ibid., p. 262.

Meine Damen und Herren, wieviel drängte es mich noch, Ihnen zu sagen von diesem einmaligen Menschen, dessen weiterwirkender Wert selbst uns, seinen Freunden, in diesem Augenblicke vielleicht noch nicht ganz erfaßbar ist. Aber es ist nicht die Zeit, jetzt für endgültige Wertungen und nicht auch, der eigenen Trauer besinnend nachzuhängen. Nein, dies ist keine Zeit für eigene, persönliche Gefühle, denn wir stehen mitten in einem geistigen Krieg und sogar an seinem gefährlichsten Posten.⁴⁹²

Zweig denies the possibility of a personal response to the death of a friend, which he presents as untimely wallowing in the face of the task at hand. That is not a rejection of responsibility to the friend but an attempt to do justice to the friend by enacting Roth's devotion to the 'Kampf gegen den Weltfeind', as Zweig suggests in his final lines:

Doch sei, wie dem sei – wir haben nicht nach dem Sinn unserer Aufgabe zu fragen, sondern jetzt jeder nur eines zu tun: den Posten zu halten, an den wir gestellt sind. Wir dürfen nicht mutlos werden, wenn unsere Reihen sich lichten, wir dürfen nicht einmal, wenn rechts und links die besten unserer Kameraden fallen, wehmütig unserer Trauer nachgeben, denn – ich sagte es eben – wir stehen mitten im Kriege und an seinem gefährdetsten Posten. Ein Blick gerade nur hinüber, wenn eine der Unsern fällt, ein Blick der Dankbarkeit, der Trauer und des treuen Gedenkens, und dann wieder zurück an die einzige Schanze, dies uns schützt: an unser Werk, an unsere Aufgabe – unsere eigene und unsere gemeinsame, um sie so aufrecht und mannhaft zu erfüllen bis an das bittere Ende, wie diese beiden verlorenen Kameraden es uns vorauszeigt, wie unser ewig überschwenglicher Ernst Toller, wie unser unvergeßlicher, unvergeßbarer Joseph Roth.⁴⁹³

Zweig offers a model for the genre from here on. Personal reaction is unwarranted and only brief contemplation of the deceased can be afforded. This is not a matter of dismissing the deceased so much as fulfilling the task 'wie diese beiden verlorenen Kameraden vorauszeigt'. The memorial address for Roth is therefore a direct engagement and reaction to its subject, while also a platform for the reinvigoration of a fight against National Socialism. Roth's legacy is thus somewhat faithfully absorbed and enacted in the *lack* of personal reflection on the

⁴⁹² Ibid., p. 263.

⁴⁹³ Ibid., pp. 263-64.

friendship. This is compounded by the absorption of a certain journalistic prose that reflects Roth's influence.

The ending to Stefan Zweig's eulogy for Joseph Roth is unique and the result of its context. Where before political figures have provoked a defensive stance from the eulogist, the conclusions have remained impotent evocations of their memory, hopeful speculation on their posterity, or the Romantic sublimation of death as tragic apotheosis. With Rilke and Hofmannsthal, this type of hopeful memorialisation continued as Zweig declared the end of a poetic era, after which there could be little productive continuation or renewed sense of literary possibility, only the regret for the irrevocable loss of pure aestheticism. The tragic Zweigian historical actor and the defeatist impotence of their mourning never completely leave the scene of the genre, but a developing sense of action begins to shift the eulogistic approach in the 1930s. In the tribute for Roth, familiar tropes such as ethnic essentialism and fatalistic determinism are both moderated and politicized in their pointed usage in the cultural counter-narrative against Nazi propaganda. Roth's death is grounded in fact and unadorned by the pathos of Zweig's tragic narratives elsewhere. The memorial address becomes an urgent call to action that instrumentalizes the memory of a politically engaged friend. Ultimately, that instrumentalization might be considered not as an irresponsibility to the friend but as an authentic *response* to Roth's years of insistence on Zweig's overt political engagement.

Sigmund Freud (d. 23.09.1939)

Hofmannsthal's and Schnitzler's deaths damaged the Viennese pre-war cultural edifice but the final destruction came with Sigmund Freud's death. As if in testament to the sense of ending, Zweig conceived his memoirs precisely in the period between the deaths of Roth and Freud: 'Ich will selbst einmal ein solches Buch schreiben, nicht als Autobiographie, sondern als Abgesang jener österreichisch-jüdisch-bürgerlichen Kultur, die in Mahler, Hofmannsthal, Schnitzler, Freud kulminierte. Denn dieses Wien und dieses Österreich wird nie mehr sein und nie mehr kommen. Wir sind die letzten Zeugen'.⁴⁹⁴ Freud's is also the last portrait in *Die Welt von Gestern* and thus symbolizes the last vestige of an intellectual era (WVG, pp. 445-40).

On hearing of Freud's death, Zweig lamented his exile situation and the lack of outlet to commemorate his friend and master: 'But I feel again my isolation in this country – I have no newspaper to write a few words, no opportunity to let say something and this after six years in

⁴⁹⁴ Zweig to Felix Braun, 20 June 1939: B IV, p. 250.

England'.⁴⁹⁵ Zweig was asked to deliver a eulogy at Freud's funeral at Golder's Green Crematorium on 26 September 1939 alongside a eulogy by Ernest Jones. Zweig's comments on the ceremony reflect the nature of a long-lasting relationship between two prominent intellectuals: 'I do my task and I hope I do it fairly well [...] How kind Mrs. Freud says me, that the dear master loved me so much and expected always the day, when I came to visit him[...]'.⁴⁹⁶ Commentary on Zweig's address is scarce as it remains a brief adulatory piece that highlights Zweig's penchant for focusing on the personality – his heroism and courage. Critics agree that the eulogy formed the height of his celebratory rhetoric and loyalty to Freud, an 'Emphase, die er in seinen Briefen vorher so offen nicht auszudrücken wagte'.⁴⁹⁷ Such prominent emphasis becomes appropriate for the overall sense of ending and recalls some of the features of that earlier end of an era address on Rilke's death.

'Worte am Sarge Freuds' allows no space for lament as Zweig's first impulse is to draw attention to 'einen historischen Augenblick', the 'linder Übergang von Sterblichkeit in Unsterblichkeit'.⁴⁹⁸ Such immortalisation is grounded by the lack of intensified lament and the lack of recourse to tragic motif. Zweig does not attempt to exaggerate by way of a sharp contrast with the pathos of lament, rather the legacy is nowhere in doubt: 'Alles, was Sigmund Freud geschaffen und vorausgedeutet als Finder und Führer, wird auch in Hinkunft mit uns sein', and Zweig establishes the permanence of his subject from the beginning.

The occasion and the company lead Zweig to devote his eulogy to the person, rather than the work: 'nur eines und einer hat uns verlassen – der Mann selbst, der kostbare und unersetzliche Freund'.⁴⁹⁹ Zweig's indication of heroism is everywhere moderated by an emphasis on the humanity of the friend. Freud becomes Zweig's 'geistige[r] Heros' and the familiar themes of service, struggle, and the search for the absolute rise to the surface. Freud, 'dem nichts in dieser Welt wichtig war als das Absolute', was devoted to a task, 'die wiederum nicht sich selbst, sondern der ganzen Menschheit dient' and this was all achieved 'gegen den Widerstand einer ganzen Welt'.⁵⁰⁰ Zweig counters that intellectual resilience with Freud's

⁴⁹⁵ 24 September 1939, GWE *Tagebücher* (1984), p. 429.

⁴⁹⁶ 26 September 1939, GWE *Tagebücher* (1984), p. 430.

⁴⁹⁷ Thomas Anz, 'Psychologie und Psychoanalyse', in HB, pp. 73-85 (p. 80); also Beate Petra Kory, *Im Spannungsfeld zwischen Literatur und Psychoanalyse: die Auseinandersetzung von Karl Kraus, Fritz Wittels und Stefan Zweig mit dem "großen Zauberer" Sigmund Freud* (Stuttgart: Ibidem-Verlag, 2007), p. 278.

⁴⁹⁸ Stefan Zweig, 'Worte am Sarge Freuds', in *Zeit und Welt. Gesammelte Aufsätze und Vorträge 1904-1940*, ed. by Richard Friedenthal (Stockholm: Bermann Fischer, 1946), pp. 51-54 (p. 51).

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 52.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 53.

‘wundervoll Seelenstärke’, bringing the two aspects (‘die Strenge des Geistes, die Güte des Herzens’) together in an exemplification of Zweig’s idea of intellectual and moral humanism.⁵⁰¹

Ultimately, Zweig communicates Freud’s dual aspect of exceptionality and friendship – what makes Freud stand apart and what grounds him amongst others. Zweig’s treatment of genius and creativity always negotiates this duality. Knowing Freud made Zweig proud to say, ‘ich habe einen wahrhaft Weisen gesehen, ich habe Sigmund Freud gekannt’. And, the final line exposes that balance between friendship and worship once again, ‘[...] immer Dir treu, immer Deiner in Ehrfurcht gedenkend, Du kostbarer Freund, Du geliebtester Meister, Sigmund Freud’.⁵⁰² In the combination of personal proximity and distanced veneration, Zweig moderates both and levels a rhetoric elsewhere deployed to excess. In the company of Freud’s family and as a complement to the words of Ernest Jones, the literariness is absent here in favour of a modest, personal commemoration that remembers the friend more than the psychoanalyst.

Max Hermann-Neiße (d. 08.04.1941)

Zweig’s final eulogy was written for fellow London exile, Max Herrmann-Neiße. Reacting to the death in his correspondence, Zweig shows a habituation to loss, a lack of rhetorical sorrow or triumphant defiance, only a sense of relief that it was no bad thing to depart from this world: ‘Ich habe eben dort einen Nachruf auf meinen lieben alten Freund Max Herrmann-Neiße veröffentlicht, dessen Herz am 8. April das beinahe Vernünftigste getan hat, was ein wahrhaft menschliches Herz heute für seinen Träger tun kann: nämlich den Dienst einzustellen’.⁵⁰³ The eulogy itself carries the same resignation and remembers a lyric poet, whose legacy will be sustained in his final bitter articulations of exile, he suggests. The fact that Zweig is unable to abstract Herrmann-Neiße from contemporary circumstances, instead characterising him through that devastating context, rejects any future-projection in the form of idealism. There is no explicit gratitude, nor immortalisation, only the deliberation on poetic exile that Zweig himself cannot think beyond.

Zweig and Herrmann-Neiße’s friendship was partly a result of exile, hence Zweig’s focus on the final phase of the poet’s life. The simple opening refers to the fallibility of the humble

⁵⁰¹ Ibid., p. 54.

⁵⁰² Ibid., p. 54.

⁵⁰³ Zweig to Paul Zech, 22 April 1941: B IV, p. 303.

poet: 'ein Herzschlag hat diesen reinen und wundervoll humanen Dichter hinweggerafft'.⁵⁰⁴ Only previously with Roth has the cause of death surfaced in a eulogy, grounding the event in the real and dismissing the recourse to the sublime rhetoric of years before. Nor do the earlier tragic narratives find a place in the eulogy, so that the death is not made to be explicable or representative of the moral *potential* of the defeated.

Instead, Hermann-Neiße becomes the emblematic poet in exile, as 'Von all den vielen deutschen Exilierten litt er vielleicht am schmerzhaftesten unter der Fremdheit der Sprache'.⁵⁰⁵ An intense sense of exile allows the poet to produce the most beautiful exile verse since Heine and poetry became his 'fast einzige Genugtuung [...] sie waren sein Trost, seine Rettung, sein Halt, eine Art Vergessen durch gesteigertes Erinnern'.⁵⁰⁶ His steadfastness towards poetic expression in the face of such desperation is the resonating theme of the eulogy, which, unlike the address for Hofmannsthal, is not employed to inspire others into continued poetic engagement, but articulated at a distance, as a memory rather than injunction:

Etwas Einmaliges, etwas Großartig-Unwahrscheinliches ist mit dieser Treue zur Dichtung und zur humanen Gesinnung mit ihm dahingegangen. Denn selten habe ich bei einem Menschen soviel seelische Tapferkeit der Gesinnung gesehen wie bei diesem kleinen schwachen Mann, der zerbrechlich schien vor einem Hauch des Winds und doch moralisch diesem furchtbarsten Orkan der Geschichte unerschütterlich durch seinen Glauben an die dichterische Mission standgehalten hat.⁵⁰⁷

Zweig's final eulogy is an unadorned and pragmatic farewell to a friend that does not make claims for the future. For Zweig, Herrmann-Neiße's legacy will be determined by verses that remained unpublished in exile,⁵⁰⁸ which points to Zweig's familiar indication of intimate knowledge of the deceased but also shows the uncertainty of the German poetic language, 'das dichterische, das denkerische Deutschland, das er [Herrmann-Neiße] durch Brutalität und Ungerechtigkeit geschändet sah'.⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰⁴ Stefan Zweig, 'Max Herrmann-Neiße zum Gedächtnis', *Aufbau* (New York: 18 April 1941), p. 5, reprinted in *Blätter der Stefan Zweig Gesellschaft*, 11/12 (1961), 13-15 (p. 13).

⁵⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁵⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁵⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁵⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁵⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

14 Abschiednehmen ist eine schwere Kunst

Eulogies respond to loss. That response is at once formulaic and cast anew with each specific death. Rhetorical similarities might conceal drastically different historical and personal contexts and, more so than any other genre, personal context is central. To focus on rhetorical strategies alone misses the point that the same basic rhetorical categories have sustained the genre since antiquity, and it also neglects the way in which the rhetoric is a temporary manifestation of a mourning *process*. An understanding of process might also reframe an understanding of another eulogistic response to loss, *Die Welt von Gestern*. Contrary to the stereotypical reservations against a nostalgic paean to Habsburg Vienna, Renoldner suggests the memoirs ought to be considered as ‘Trauerarbeit’ and the ‘Erinnerungsarbeit eines Emigranten’.⁵¹⁰ Like Zweig’s eulogies, the memoirs serve a reconstructive purpose to carry forward a sense of cultural progress from an idealized (Austrian) society. Like the memoirs then, as Gelber has it, the eulogies also ‘record the flowering, but also the decline and death of a tradition of European humanism through the Austrian example’. However, that reads the personalities out of eulogies, subordinating them to an overall strategy. Zweig did not feel the same about every death, nor did he respond the same.

Each eulogy depends on its personal, literary, and social contexts. Thus, Zweig’s eulogies remember Austrians for their Austrianness and Austrians, whose Austrianness is tangential, or both in the case of the two Schnitzler eulogies. They remember close friends and distant peers. They appear in different public forums and in different literary forms. They variously deny and demand political engagement. And, ultimately, they reflect the eulogist’s situation across decades and continents. Zweig’s virtuosity makes him adaptable in response to such variation, manifested in empathetic imitation or absorption of an other, or conversely in sober understatement, in the process of doing justice. Eulogy becomes the negotiation of process and stasis, of the work of mourning split between *Trauerarbeit* and *Trauerwerk*. Everywhere, following the genre’s demands, Zweig co-opts contemporary losses into a cultural worldview for a cosmopolitan future, creating fixed legacies, heroic types, immortalized geniuses. Yet, at the same time, Zweig reveals the difficulties of fulfilling that task in the variation of his response, in the explicit reluctance to bestow legacy, and in the reluctance to accept the possibility of bidding farewell: ‘Abschiednehmen ist eine schwere Kunst’.

⁵¹⁰ Klemens Renoldner, ‘Biografie’, in HB, pp. 1-42 (p. 35).

Section 3: The Masterpiece

*Kunst ist ein ewiger Krieg, nie ein Ende,
sondern ein unablässiger Anbeginn.*

Zweig, 'Arturo Toscanini: Ein Bildnis'

15 The 'Big Balzac'

15.1 The Focality of Balzac

By the time Stefan Zweig expressed his idea for a 'big book' on Honoré de Balzac in a letter to Franz Karl Ginzkey,⁵¹¹ the prolific French novelist had long been a prominent figure in Zweig's literary pantheon. Zweig's early interest in Hippolyte Taine was certainly influenced by an interest in Balzac, on whom Taine wrote a significant study in 1858.⁵¹² The preoccupation with Balzac intensified in subsequent years with Zweig publishing his first 'Anmerkungen zu Balzac' in 1906.⁵¹³ Despite four more essays on Balzac, including the literary portrait that opened the first volume of the *Baumeister der Welt* series of biographical studies,⁵¹⁴ the urge towards a 'big Balzac' never left Zweig, eventually resulting in his resolution early in 1939 to write the full-length two-volume biography and literary study that ultimately remained unfinished.

In February 1939, writing on a train between Toronto and New York during a tour of North American cities, Zweig declared his decision:

In London will ich wieder mit der Arbeit anfangen. Und vielleicht unternehme ich ein großes Werk, das mich seit meiner frühen Jugend beschäftigt - ein dickes Buch, Biographie, Kritik, über *Balzac*. Ich weiß wohl, dass es drei auch vier Jahre erfordern wird. Aber ich möchte etwas Gültiges hinterlassen, ein Werk, das einzige Jahrzehnte überdauert, und ich bin Balzacianer, wie Sie Beethovianer sind. Seit 30 Jahren habe

⁵¹¹ Zweig to Franz Karl Ginzkey, March 1905: B I, pp. 97-8.

⁵¹² Hippolyte Taine, *Essais de critique et d'histoire* (Paris: Hachette, 1858).

⁵¹³ Stefan Zweig, 'Anmerkungen zu Balzac', *Hamburger Nachrichten (Belletristisch Literarische Beilage)*, 15 April 1906, pp. 3-4. This is a revised version of a short introductory essay included in Honoré de Balzac, *Ausgewählte Werke*, 10 vols., trans. by Alfred Brieger (Berlin: Ledermann, 1905).

⁵¹⁴ Stefan Zweig, *GWE Drei Meister* (1981).

ich ihn gelesen und immer wieder gelesen, ohne meine Bewunderung je zu verlieren.⁵¹⁵

Zweig suggests that the idea carried the potential to secure his legacy and that, as a 'Balzacianer', it was his task to create the definitive work on Balzac. In this call to action, he points to his lifelong engagement with his subject, which poses the question: why after thirty years was it time to put pen to paper on the *magnum opus*?⁵¹⁶ Part of the answer lies in Zweig's desire to leave behind 'etwas Gültiges', indeed the idea of leaving something behind suggests thoughts of death, the culmination of life and work. In exile since 1934, Zweig foresaw a masterwork that would act as an anchor in precarious times but would simultaneously symbolize the end in every sense, the completion of Zweig's oeuvre. The potential for global destruction, for further exile, for the end of his life, triggered the writing of what Zweig had long intended to be the apotheosis of his literary achievement. In 1922, Zweig lamented the lack of a Balzac of the age: 'Ich bin oft bekümmert über die Zagheit unserer Literatur: könnte Balzac wiedererstehen, was hätte er aus unserer Epoche gemacht!'⁵¹⁷ Rolland responded that more distance from the event was needed to produce the era's Balzac. In 1939, Zweig took it upon himself to return the 'writer of society'⁵¹⁸ to centre stage in the form of a biography, the only response to the contemporary situation that Zweig deemed 'gültig'.

There have been comparatively few studies of Zweig's *Balzac* despite the incontrovertible significance with which the author endows the work. The aim of this section is to understand the work beyond the familiar classification amongst the author's biographical oeuvre. Zweig's personal context and the archival perspective of *Balzac*'s drafts allow for new insights into the biography. Uniting the literary critical with the archival, or text critical, approach not only broadens the analysis but re-integrates the archive into the consideration of the literary text, something – as we have already shown through Zweig's collecting and continual interest in creative process – which is fundamental to Zweig's literary aesthetics. For a writer who consistently brought textual production and revision to the fore, those same aspects surely play a particularly significant role in his creative practice.

⁵¹⁵ Zweig to Romain Rolland, 28 February 1939, referenced in Knut Beck, 'Nachbemerkung', BZ, p. 545.

⁵¹⁶ *Magnum opus* idea referred to by Richard Friedenthal in his 'Nachwort des Herausgebers', in BZ, p. 535-42.

⁵¹⁷ Zweig to Romain Rolland, in Beck, 'Nachbemerkung', BZ, p. 553.

⁵¹⁸ In *Drei Meister*, Zweig refers to Balzac as the writer of the 'sphere' he calls 'die Welt der Gesellschaft', p. 10.

Critical studies that focus on *Balzac* tend to emphasize the continuous literary influence of the French novelist on Zweig's writing⁵¹⁹ or employ psychoanalysis to unpack the father-son relationship between the two authors.⁵²⁰ Other commentators seek to underline the particularity of the biography but fall back on negative explanations, which stress—somewhat implausibly—how *Balzac* stands out for its lack of the familiar monolithic celebration of and sympathy for the protagonists displayed by Zweig's other biographies.⁵²¹ Strelka's paean to the 'big Balzac' embraces the uniqueness of *Balzac* in Zweig's oeuvre by calling it 'his greatest literary achievement of all [...] because of its special literary significance'.⁵²² Strelka offers a glimpse at what might make the work fulfil Zweig's desires for a *magnum opus*, which he argues is less a deviation from Zweig's tropes than the most successful example of the common model: in sum, the ultimate triumph of the creative imagination against the obstacles of reality.

Reluctance by Zweig scholars to follow Strelka in focusing on *Balzac* might be attributed to several aspects of the research proposition. Huemer's study on Zweig as a biographer of Balzac notes the lack of research on the editing procedure, implying insufficient work has been undertaken on the archival material: 'Die genaue Quantität und Qualität der editorischen Eingriffe Friedenthals waren bisher noch nie Gegenstand einer eingehenden Untersuchung und bleibt ein Desiderat der Zweig-Forschung'.⁵²³ Huemer is more interested in Richard Friedenthal's editorial activity, than Zweig's authorship. Part of the reason why a concentrated study of *Balzac* has yet to surface in fact lies, however, in the actual relative lack of editorial intervention on Friedenthal's part, which the archive shows. Later studies of the biography that engage with the archival material do not find enough of interest in the author's own composition to comment upon and end up repeating Zweig and Friedenthal's descriptions of the mass of documents without attempts to interpret them.⁵²⁴ Therefore, the absence of close studies of the composition of *Balzac* is in part related to the perceived equivalence between proofs and published edition and to the lack of critical interest in the development of that published edition from draft to proof.

⁵¹⁹ Robert Dumont, *Stefan Zweig et la France* (Paris: Didier, 1967), pp. 345-380.

⁵²⁰ Michel Reffet, 'Stefan Zweigs unbewußte Auseinandersetzung mit der literarischen Vatergestalt in seiner Balzac-Biographie' in *Exil und Suche nach dem Weltfrieden*, ed. by Mark H. Gelber and Klaus Zelewitz (Riverside: Ariadne Press, 1995), pp. 252-262.

⁵²¹ See Leopold Decloedt, "'In Balzacketten geschmiedet'". Eine Glosse zu Stefan Zweig und Honore de Balzac' in *Künstler-Bilder: Zur produktiven Auseinandersetzung mit der schöpferischen Persönlichkeit*, ed. by Hans Ester, Guillaume van Gemert and Christiaan Janssen (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2003), pp. 73-80; and Erwin Einzinger, 'Das absurde Leben der grössten Arbeiter der Literatur', *Zweigheft*, 23-29.

⁵²² Strelka, p. 210.

⁵²³ Huemer, p. 60.

⁵²⁴ See for example Decloedt.

Further, in comparison to the also extant and neatly bound manuscript drafts of Zweig's only completed novel *Ungeduld des Herzens*,⁵²⁵ the thousands of pages of notes, drafts, typescript proofs and facsimiles, not to mention the loose fragments of notes and related research material, pose an intimidating challenge.⁵²⁶ The research proposition also seems less urgent when the biography is considered merely an inflated version of Zweig's earlier portrait. Indeed, the main themes of that early essay listed by Hemecker and Huemer are consistent with the biography: 'die Identifikation Balzacs mit Napoleon, der Geniegedanke, der Konflikt zwischen inneren und äußeren Leben Balzacs, Charakterisierungen seiner Figuren als Typen, dies zusammen eine "Armee" bilden, und das Komprimierende in Balzacs Narration'.⁵²⁷ Undoubtedly, Zweig employs a familiar biographical mode and themes but the result remained incomplete, framed explicitly by Zweig himself and Friedenthal as incompletable or impossible. The chaotic documentary remnants attest to the project's immensity, compounded by the subject's own excessive nature. The specific conditions and considerations of the project, both articulated by its author and editor and manifested in its overburdening archival underside, give *Balzac* a particular place as the only biographical study that resisted completion.

Understanding the failed *magnum opus* from this perspective draws our subject closer to Balzac's notion of masterpiece, most emphatically revealed in *Le Chef d'oeuvre inconnu*. Belting glosses the idea: '[a]n absolute masterpiece was not an excellent work, it was an *impossible* one'. In the painter Frenhofer's failure to make the ideal material, which leads to the seemingly proto-modernist abstract defacement of the portrait in layers of paint, Balzac presents the paradox of perfection: 'Frenhofer's painting contains the ideal of perfection only while it remains unfinished. In that state it still promises to deliver the impossible'.⁵²⁸ Zweig's *Balzac* should be reframed to be in dialogue with a sense of the *Balzacian*.

A lifelong preoccupation with the figure, the work, the creative process, the material drafts and revisions and the idea of Balzac is brought to bear on the biography. That Balzac represented *the* creative artist, the height of artistic labour, the most tragic failure and triumphant hero, and *the* exemplary re-writer represented in Zweig's manuscript collection, isolates *Balzac*, as a process and posthumously published work, from the rest of Zweig's oeuvre.

⁵²⁵ Marbach, Deutsches Literaturarchiv, Zugangsnummer: A: Zweig, Stefan HS.2007.0124.00001.

⁵²⁶ Zweig writes of '600 Seiten erstes Manuscript und tausende Notizen' in a letter to Felix Braun, 25 October 1940: B IV, p. 292.

⁵²⁷ Wilhelm Hemecker and Georg Huemer, "'Weltbildner': Stefan Zweigs Essay über Balzac' in *Die Biographie: Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte*, ed. by Wilhelm Hemecker and Wolfgang Kreutzer (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009), pp. 251-72 (p. 255).

⁵²⁸ Hans Belting, *The Invisible Masterpiece* (London: Reaktion, 2001), p. 12.

In other words, the focality of Balzac to every aspect of Zweig's intellectual landscape lends this biography its significance.

Balzac carried an incomparable importance throughout Zweig's writing: 'Unter den Persönlichkeiten, die Zweig portraitierte, hat Honoré de Balzac eine kaum zu übertreffende Bedeutung'.⁵²⁹ That influence was not just personal to Zweig; Balzac was at the centre of a range of intellectual thought in the early twentieth century that was tied into crises of language and literature, from which cultural modernity cannot be separated. Balzac as creative genius, as the father of the modern novel, as simultaneously Romantic and Realist, and, finally, as an early preserver and fetishizer of his own compositional documents, turned a generation of European writers towards the *Comédie Humaine* for insights into fundamental literary problems. Pietri introduces an anthology of modern responses to Balzac by showing the author's resurgence 'en temps de crise' and suggests how this renewed prominence of Balzac's œuvre opened 'un nouvel espace esthétique à conquérir, que justement cette relecture de l'univers balzacien permet de penser, de formuler, de projeter, chemin faisant'.⁵³⁰ This section aims to show 'l'univers balzacien' in its ideal *and* material manifestations.

15.2 A Poetics of Incompletion: Balzac's Proofs

In March 1914, Zweig acquired Balzac's bound corrected proof for his novel *Une Ténébreuse affaire*,⁵³¹ a document consisting of over 1200 pages of corrected typescript and manuscript. This proof is by far the largest item in the Zweig Collection donated to the British Library in 1986. Not only is it the most substantial manuscript the collection contains, but its influence on Zweig was distinct. As Prater suggests, '[d]as von Zweig am meisten geschätzte Stück seiner Handschriftensammlung war in der Vorkriegszeit ein Probeabzug von *Une Ténébreuse affaire*, eigenhändig vom Autor korrigiert'.⁵³² In 1909, Zweig had already purchased the manuscript of the short story *La Messe de l'Athée*, which was only sold after Zweig's death. Considering the totalising collective efforts of the 'Balzacomaniac'⁵³³ Spoelbergh de Lovenjoul in the 1850s following Balzac's death, such manuscripts were incredibly rare. Other items in Zweig's Balzac

⁵²⁹ Huemer, 'Stefan Zweig als Biograph von Balzac', p. 104.

⁵³⁰ *L'Invention de Balzac: Lectures européennes* (Saint-Denis: Presses universitaires de Vincennes, 2004) ed. by Susi Pietri, pp. 11-12.

⁵³¹ London, British Library, Stefan Zweig Collection, Zweig MS 133.

⁵³² In Georg Huemer, 'Stefan Zweig als Biograph von Balzac', p. 45.

⁵³³ The idea of a 'Balzacomane' appears across Zweig's essays, defined as 'de[r] Mensch[], der seine ganze Lebensarbeit einzig darin suchte, allen Manuskripten, Briefen, Artikeln Balzacs nachzuspüren und sie in seinen Händen zu vereinigen', Zweig, 'Die unterirdischen Bücher Balzacs', p. 97.

collection include a letter to Jean Thomassy, and three fragments of manuscripts towards the essay 'Monographie de la presse parisienne', which were acquired in 1940.⁵³⁴ Even when Zweig's collecting passions had diminished, Balzac manuscripts remained an indispensable acquisition.

For a collector like Zweig, whose motivation was much more 'das Schaffen [...] und nie das Geschaffene' (WVG, p. 378), Balzac's work was the pinnacle of creation and his manuscripts therefore the most insightful materialisation of the writing and correcting process. Zweig writes, in his essay on Balzac's corrected proofs 'Die unterirdischen Bücher Balzacs', 'jedes dieser Schriftbücher ist nicht nur ein persönliches Dokument zur Arbeitsweise Balzacs, sondern überhaupt zum Kampf um die epische Form von der Genesis bis zur Schöpfung'.⁵³⁵ The editors of *Une Ténébreuse affaire* offer a similarly universal interpretation of Balzac's drafts: 'Elle [l'étude des manuscrits de Balzac] nous apparaît comme une des rares voies par lesquelles nous puissions aborder les problèmes posés par la création d'une grande œuvre'.⁵³⁶ For Zweig, Balzac's creative exemplarity, coupled with the rarity of his proofs, makes for an enthusiasm incomparable to other acquisitions:

Dann gehe ich – ach es regnet, regnet ja noch immer ohne Ende – zum Buchhändler Blaisot, an den mich Messein wegen der Auction gewiesen hat und kaufe dort – blitzschnell, hastig, gierig trotz des Gefühls vielleicht zu überzahlen – den Roman von Balzac "Une tenebreuse affaire" [sic]. Ich bin dann ganz erregt, wirr, unfähig klar zu denken, aufgestachelt und das kühlt sich in einer Begegnung. Ich besuche dann Marcelle und wir verbringen in bestem Frieden – trotzdem – die Nacht.⁵³⁷

Zweig adopts the language he would later use to describe the manuscript itself, as it carries a sense of wildness, excitement and frenzy. He cuts that excitement and moves onto writing about an encounter with his lover Marcelle, the heat of the manuscript encounter 'cooling' in human contact, the excitement of the purchase becoming the 'peace' of the night spent in love. Zweig's reflection sexualizes the acquisition of the manuscript, as he sketches a clear emotional trajectory, climaxing in the purchase and easing in the arms of his lover. No other acquisition carries a similar level of dynamism, emotion, and physicality. Zweig's card catalogue also distinguishes it within his collection: 'Dieses kostbare Manuskript von einem Wert ohnegleichen

⁵³⁴ BL Zweig MS 134, 135, 216. The third fragment of 'Monographie de la presse parisienne' is in the Brazilian National Library in Rio de Janeiro.

⁵³⁵ Zweig, 'Die unterirdischen Bücher Balzacs', p. 99.

⁵³⁶ Honoré de Balzac, *La Comédie humaine*, ed. by Pierre-Georges Castex et al., 12 vols, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade (Paris: Gallimard, 1976-81), VIII: *Études de mœurs* (1978), p.1465.

⁵³⁷ 25 March 1914: GWE *Tagebücher* (1984), p. 76.

erfordert eine gesonderte Beschreibung und vielleicht ein ganzes Buch, weil man die ganze Arbeitsweise Balzacs darin wie kaum an einem zweiten erkennt'.⁵³⁸ It is not distinctive because of its rarity in commercial terms; rather, Zweig considers the analytical challenge that its immensity and material dynamism provoke.

Balzac is also significant in the history of manuscript preservation and collection, and to a nineteenth-century culture, which was gradually shifting to understand the world from a materialist perspective. Falconer places Balzac at the centre of a genealogy of 'genetic criticism', as one of many European writers between 1750 and 1830 whose attitude shifted 'towards the material traces of composition'.⁵³⁹ Balzac was certainly one of the first to focus on explicating the process of his work's composition but, further, the significance of 'material traces' formed a part of Balzac's wider conception of life and literature. Influenced by the physiognomic studies of Lavater and Gall, Balzac saw in external gestures the manifestations of an inner reality, in objects the traces of the conditions that effected their existence. In *Une Ténébreuse affaire* – conveniently a police novel itself and therefore the quintessential representation of deducing the truth behind signs, clues, objects – Balzac points to the correlation between external traces and inner character:

Les lois de la physionomie sont exactes, non seulement dans leur application au caractère, mais encore relativement à la fatalité de l'existence. Il y a des physionomies prophétiques. S'il était possible, et cette statistique vivante importe à la société, d'avoir un dessin exact de ceux qui périssent sur l'échafaud, la science de Lavater et celle de Gall prouveraient invinciblement qu'il y avait dans la tête de tous ces gens, même chez les innocents, des signes étranges.⁵⁴⁰

A description of Michu's 'fateful' physiognomy follows, culminating in 'le cou, court et gros, tentait le couperet de la loi'.⁵⁴¹

Lavater extended his theories to see handwriting as potentially revealing the character of the writer, which triggered the offshoot of physiognomy, graphology. In the stock Balzac put in physiognomy, without subscribing wholesale to graphology, he understood the revelatory potential of traces in the manuscript as testaments to his labour. As Lamartine put it: 'le style est la physionomie de la pensée'. In other words, writing is the materialisation of thought, rather

⁵³⁸ London, British Library, Zweig Collection Provenance Papers Vol. II, Add MS 73168.

⁵³⁹ Falconer, p. 8.

⁵⁴⁰ Honoré de Balzac, *Une Ténébreuse affaire*, in Balzac, *La Comédie humaine*, ed. Pierre-Georges Castex et al., VIII: *Études de mœurs* (1978), p. 502.

⁵⁴¹ Ibid., p. 503.

than character. Thus, Balzac was a nexus of thought that connected the interest in literary manuscript preservation with the physiognomic interest in material gestures and traces. This charges the corrected proofs of *Une Ténébreuse affaire* with the weight of an author fully aware of the posterity of his creative documents.

Le Chef-d'oeuvre inconnu encapsulates this focus on reading material traces for deeper significance and contextualizes it in the realm of artistic creation. The artist Porbus' studio becomes loaded with significance :

Porbus s'inclina respectueusement, il laissa entrer le jeune homme en le croyant amené par le vieillard et s'inquiéta d'autant moins de lui que le néophyte demeura sous le charme que doivent éprouver les peintres-nés à l'aspect du premier atelier qu'ils voient et où se révèlent quelques uns des procédés matériels de l'art [...]

Des écorchés de plâtre, des fragments et des torses de déesses antiques, amoureusement polis par les baisers des siècles, jonchaient les tablettes et les consoles. D'innombrables ébauches, des études aux trois crayons, à la sanguine ou à la plume, couvraient les murs jusqu'au plafond. Des boîtes à couleurs, des bouteilles d'huile et d'essence, des escabeaux renversés ne laissaient qu'un étroit chemin pour arriver sous l'auréole que projetait la haute verrière dont les rayons tombaient à plein sur la pâle figure de Porbus et sur le crâne d'ivoire de l'homme singulier.⁵⁴²

Balzac reading the artist's studio recalls Zweig's view into the writer's own 'Arbeitsstube' in the manuscript for *Une Ténébreuse affaire*. Like Zweig regarding his manuscripts, the young painter Poussin wades through the mess of the artist's workshop, bearing witness to the fragments of paintings and feeling overwhelmed by the significance of this creative waste. Not only does Balzac then introduce the *real* into literature, at a time when the *real* documents of composition began to gain greater prominence, but this anticipates the introduction of the same *real* aspects of writing into literary commentary:

[T]extual theory found itself constrained by the analysis of the immanent structures of the text, caught in the trap of the dogma of closure [...]. Critics then questioned

⁵⁴² Honoré de Balzac, *Le Chef-d'oeuvre inconnu*, in Balzac, *La Comédie humaine*, ed. Pierre-Georges Castex et al., X: *Études philosophiques* (1979), pp. 415-16.

if it would not be possible for the 'real' to be reinserted into a literary analysis that seemed to be distancing itself from just such a move.⁵⁴³

It is precisely this impulse to stave off interpretative closure by re-imagining the processual variance and contingency through the material traces of a manuscript that affected Zweig.

Zweig continuously returned to Balzac's proofs when reflecting on his manuscripts: 'Ein Korrekturblatt Balzacs, wo fast jeder Satz zerrissen, jede Zeile umgeackert, der weiße Rand mit Strichen, Zeichen, Worten schwarz zernagt ist, versinnlicht mir den Ausbruch eines menschlichen Vesuvs [...]' (WVG, p. 181). The 'human Vesuvius' is one of the many formulations of Balzac's volcanic potential. His corrections show the 'Ausbruch eines Vulkans',⁵⁴⁴ signalling the productivity and the susceptibility to self-destruction by excess: 'Bei Balzac war es das Temperament, dieser Vulkan von Glut, der Licht und Feuer über den erschreckten Himmel gießend mit wunderbarer Schönheit die Gegend erhellt, um sie im nächsten Augenblicke unter starrer Lavaflut zu begraben'.⁵⁴⁵ Zweig is in awe of the proofs' ability to bury the secret of creation within the material that renders the content coherent through revision: 'Ausbruch [...], deren starres Gefüge er immer wieder aufriß wie der Fiebernde seine Wunde, um noch einmal das rote pochende Blut der Zeilen durch den schon starren, erkalteten Körper zu jagen'.⁵⁴⁶ Consistent with his reflections on reading manuscripts, Zweig gives *substance* to metaphors, employing a bodily idiom, where all pages become 'belebte Blätter'.⁵⁴⁷

Zweig's encounter with an amorphous and material presence, is at the same time human, authorial creativity, as he approaches texts as process *and* sites of agency, emphasising the labour of creation. Balzac embodies this idea of sacrificial labour for Zweig and his struggle towards creation offers an example of the *moral lesson*, his proofs providing a 'höchst ergiebige Lektion'.⁵⁴⁸ His struggle is elevated to a battle. Following Champfleury, who portrays a page of proof as 'le champ de bataille',⁵⁴⁹ Zweig depicts a 'Schlachtfeld', onto which Balzac storms '[m]it der Wucht einer Kavallerieattacke' (BZ, p. 190). Champfleury broadens the connotations of the word 'épreuve' to incorporate its full range of meanings: 'le mot peut s'entendre dans

⁵⁴³ Laurent Jenny, and Richard Watts, 'Genetic Criticism and Its Myths', *Yale French Studies*, 89 (1996), 9-25 (p.11).

⁵⁴⁴ Zweig, 'Die unterirdischen Bücher Balzacs', p. 96.

⁵⁴⁵ Stefan Zweig, 'Anmerkungen zu Balzac', in Zweig, GWE *Begegnungen mit Büchern. Aufsätze und Einleitungen aus den Jahren 1902-1939* (1983), pp. 169-78 (p.170).

⁵⁴⁶ Zweig, *Drei Meister*, p.35

⁵⁴⁷ Zweig, 'Die unterirdischen Bücher Balzacs', p. 96.

⁵⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

⁵⁴⁹ Champfleury [Jules François Felix Fleury-Husson], *Documents pour servir à la biographie de Balzac. Balzac, sa méthode de travail, étude d'après ses manuscrits* (Paris, 1879), p.9.

l'acception la plus pénible. C'était des luttes acharnées pour Balzac que l'élucidation de sa pensée, presque aussi rudes pour ceux qui avaient à y prendre part'.⁵⁵⁰ Zweig's commentary on Balzac moves from the *fabric* of the manuscript to the activity of the author in the 'fabrique de [l'écriture]'.⁵⁵¹ In Zweig's words, the corrected proofs for *Une Ténébreuse affaire* opens 'die Tür seiner [Balzacs] Arbeitsstube',⁵⁵² a glimpse of the working conditions, with the attention refocused on work as *travaille* and as a process of creation.

In Balzac, Zweig therefore finds a compelling case for an author concept. The self-reflexive obsessions of the labourer-writer go hand-in-hand with his re-valuation of compositional documents, evidence of both material hardship and intangible inspiration. Balzac's insistence on this archival testament to authorship is apparent in his habit of gifting and dedication. To David D'Angers, Balzac lays emphasis 'sur l'effort physique, sur l'investissement corporel de l'écrivain comparable à celui du lapidaire'. The writer, revealing his drafts to his fellow artist, rematerializes the writing practice and explodes the concept of writer into "ciseleur, fondeur, sculpteur, orfèvre, forçat, artiste, penseur, poète".⁵⁵³

On the one hand, the show of labour and authority is pure self-assertion, the ineluctability of presence, the brute facticity of an author. Zweig's general biographical focus on individual psychology, as opposed to social, historical, political factors of the literary life, is thus well-served by the Balzacian ego and its archival proof(s). On the other hand, it is precisely this excessive textual authority that works to complicate interpretation. The continuous manipulation of text is part of a strategic suspension of textual closure, as the final text is unworked and under the constant threat of its unworking. The spectacle of the self therefore becomes both a possession *and* a loss of self in the text. Zweig's own unfinished and unfinishable engagement with the lifelong Balzac can only be understood through the fundamental concept of incompleteness at the heart of the *Balzacian*.

Le Chef-d'œuvre inconnu shows how layering more and more material in search of the masterpiece works to obscure and undo the work at the same time. Critics employ a similar logic interpreting Balzac's writing method and Zweig, too, indicates the tension between fixed work and re-working in the drafts at his disposal. The insistence on the compositional process means that 'nous ne voyons que le sommet de l'iceberg, fragment échappé, bout de pied' and that 'le

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 6.

⁵⁵¹ Pierre Laforgue, *La Fabrique de la Comédie Humaine* (Besançon: Presses universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2013).

⁵⁵² Zweig, 'Die unterirdischen Bücher Balzacs', p. 99.

⁵⁵³ Stéphane Vachon, 'Un manuscrit dans une robe', in *Balzac: Une Poétique du roman*, ed. by Stéphane Vachon (Saint-Denis: PUV, 1996), p.324.

livre d'archives est inséparable du livre définitif', Schuerewegen terms 'un démenti flagrant à l'achèvement de l'œuvre'.⁵⁵⁴ Thus, focusing on creative documents inserts that process into the interpretation, destabilizing the notion that the work is the end goal.

Zweig describes this fragility at the heart of the literary work in his essay on Balzac's hybrid proofs, which are 'halb Manuskript und halb schon Druck'. These are documents which are 'sich proteusartig verwandelten und immer mehr dem definitiven Bild entgegenformten'.⁵⁵⁵ Zweig suggests that the revision process is a move away from a *definitive* picture of a work. Hybridity displays a 'conjunction of contraries' – that is, 'le mobile contre le massif, le dynamique contre l'inerte, le feuillet contre la page, l'étoilement (des épreuves par leur reprise manuscrite) contre la linéarisation (typographique), la plume contre le plomb, la variation contre la variante'. Vachon continues to relate these tensions to the rupture of the 'l'architecture carcérale de la *Comédie Humaine*', which, when broken, will allow us to 'traverser la surface immobile et glacée de l'œuvre afin de la comprendre par son histoire et sa genèse'.⁵⁵⁶ The notion of rupture evokes Zweig's volcanic imagery that emphasizes the simultaneous productivity and destruction of revision, and he points to a rupture of something fixed, as 'noch einmal schüttete er [Balzac] Zusätze, Ergänzungen, Verdeutlichungen in das gegossene Manuskript'.⁵⁵⁷ The already cast text has more material poured into its structure. The constant undermining of the fixed text through the process of revision, what Vachon calls the 'infinite reprisal of the work', installs a mobility at the heart of the work.⁵⁵⁸ Balzac continued to revise even between each published edition, rendering each version provisional and the correction phase becomes a 'second composition'.⁵⁵⁹

Balzac thus represented a creator whose creativity was solely processual, whose work was an indefinite work in progress, who implemented 'un procédé de composition susceptible de maintenir sa puissance créatrice en acte'.⁵⁶⁰ The teleology of creation collapses in the form of iterated composition. Zweig refers to this infinite mobility, regarding the *Comédie Humaine*

⁵⁵⁴ Franc Schuerewegen, 'Scories ou pourquoi il y a une œuvre là-dessous' in *Balzac, ou la Tentation de l'Impossible*, ed. by Robert Mahieu and Franc Schuerewegen (Paris: Sedes, 1998), p. 16.

⁵⁵⁵ Zweig, 'Die unterirdischen Bücher Balzacs', p. 99.

⁵⁵⁶ Stéphane Vachon, 'Les Enseignements des manuscrits d'Honoré de Balzac. De la variation contre la variante', *Genesis*, 11 (1997), 61-80 (p.75).

⁵⁵⁷ Zweig, 'Die unterirdischen Bücher Balzacs', p. 98.

⁵⁵⁸ Vachon, 'Les Enseignements', p. 76.

⁵⁵⁹ Wells Fenton Chamberlin, *Génèse et Structure d'Une Ténébreuse Affaire de Balzac* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1956), p. 34.

⁵⁶⁰ Takayuki Kamada, 'Balzac ou la genèse du texte dans sa matérialité', in Éric Bordas et al. [Actes du séminaire 'Balzac' de l'Université Paris Diderot – Paris 7], *Un matérialisme balzacien?* <<http://balzac.cerilac.univ-paris-diderot.fr/materialisme.html>> [accessed 6 June 2019], p.2.

as ultimately lacking teleological direction: 'sie [the *Comédie Humaine*] will als Wandelndes das ewig sich Wandelnde zeigen'.⁵⁶¹ The infinite mutability of life is enacted in the shifting structure of the cycle of novels, and further embodied in the protean system of revision.

Finally, the insistence on incessant revision provides a basis for another motif shared by commentators, the labyrinth. Zweig refers to the 'Höllenlabyrinth von Korrekturen', which 'war ein hieroglyphisches Durcheinander, anscheinend sinnlos, von Zeichen und Zeilen'.⁵⁶² Champfleury describes the same pages as a 'poème hindou',⁵⁶³ while Werdet sees 'un labyrinthe qui, à la première inspection, paraît sans but et sans fin, sans entrée et sans sortie'.⁵⁶⁴ All these remarks are linked to indecipherability and irresolution. In the move from the being to the becoming of the text, from the creation to the creating, there is also the acceptance of the move from finality to provisionality, from coherence to complication, from stability to instability of meaning and interpretation.

Zweig asserts: 'Nur wer ein solches Korrektorexemplar eines Werkes von Balzac gesehen hat, kann seine Arbeit und die Art seiner Arbeit wirklich ermessen'.⁵⁶⁵ And, as Taine put it, Balzac's legacy amounts to 'the greatest storehouse of documents on human nature that we possess'.⁵⁶⁶ Zweig's continuous interest in creative process and its material manifestations play a role in Zweig's biography of the exemplary creator and greatest storehouse of documents.

15.3 The Long Inception of a *Manqum Opus*

So far, it has been argued that Balzac stands out both amongst the many figures Zweig portrayed and amongst those whose manuscripts he collected. Zweig cannot escape or transcend the sheer materiality of the Balzac manuscript, 'das lebendigste, was man vielleicht je an dichterischer und künstlerischer Arbeit in sinnlicher Form sehen kann'.⁵⁶⁷ Zweig's encounter with Balzac's method gives way to his most open-ended formulations of literary creativity. The infinite productivity located in the Balzacian feeds into Zweig's biographical engagement with

⁵⁶¹ Zweig, *Drei Meister*, p. 44.

⁵⁶² Zweig, 'Die unterirdischen Bücher Balzacs', p. 98.

⁵⁶³ Champfleury, p. 9.

⁵⁶⁴ Edmond Werdet, *Portrait intime de Balzac, sa vie, son humeur et son caractère*. (Paris: L'Arche du livre, 1970), p.99.

⁵⁶⁵ Zweig, 'Die unterirdischen Bücher Balzacs', p. 98.

⁵⁶⁶ Hippolyte Taine, *Balzac, A Critical Study*, trans. by Lorenzo O'Rourke (New York: Haskell House, 1973), p.240.

⁵⁶⁷ Zweig, 'Die unterirdischen Bücher Balzacs', p. 99.

the master, what can similarly be articulated as his most open and continually productive project. It was a lifelong interaction that would never be complete.

Zweig lived with the idea of a 'big Balzac' since he conceived it in 1905. Balzac gradually became central to the way Zweig thought about literature, as he and Shakespeare were 'die Pole aller Kunst',⁵⁶⁸ orientating principles for his art. Balzac's notion of typology influenced Zweig, leading to simplifications of character to type, making intelligible the causes and motivations of external situations. In the preface to *Une Ténébreuse affaire*, Balzac defines typology: 'Un type, dans le sens qu'on doit attacher à ce mot, est un personnage qui résume en lui-même les traits caractéristiques de tous ceux qui lui ressemblent plus ou moins, il est le modèle du genre'.⁵⁶⁹ Zweig's next major Balzac study in *Drei Meister*, carried the subtitle, *Versuch einer Typologie des Geistes*, not dissimilar to the pretensions of the *Comédie Humaine*, another typology of society. Zweig describes his own typological operation as 'Sublimierung, Kondensierung, Extrakt',⁵⁷⁰ while articulating Balzac's characters in the same way: 'Denn seine Menschen sind Extrakte, seine Leidenschaften reine Elemente, seine Tragödien Kondensierungen'.⁵⁷¹

The full-length biography did not crystallize into a project until 1939, thirty-four years after he signalled his intentions. Zweig distinguished it from the rest of his oeuvre – this biography was to be his 'magnum opus':

Der 'große Balzac', wie Stefan Zweig im Hausgebrauch das Unternehmen nannte – zum Unterschied von früheren Versuchen geringeren Umfangs – sollte nach dem Willen des Autors sein Hauptwerk werden, sein magnum opus. Seit zehn Jahren hatte er an dem Manuskript gearbeitet. Er wollte mit ihm die Summe seiner schriftstellerischen Erfahrung und seiner Lebenskenntnis ziehen. Balzac schien ihm das größte Thema, das seiner eigentümlichen Begabung zugänglich und geradezu vorbehalten wäre.⁵⁷²

The undertaking overwhelms Zweig's correspondence and he elevates its significance in his oeuvre: 'Il faut faire des choses définitives'⁵⁷³ and achieve 'etwas Bleibendes [...] ein Werk, das zumindest für meine Arbeitskraft und den Ernst meines Willens zeugt'.⁵⁷⁴ Alongside his

⁵⁶⁸ Zweig to Max Brod, 4 July 1907: B I, p. 154.

⁵⁶⁹ Balzac, *Une Ténébreuse affaire*, pp. 492-93.

⁵⁷⁰ Zweig, *Drei Meister*, p. 10.

⁵⁷¹ Ibid., p. 20.

⁵⁷² Friedenthal, p.535.

⁵⁷³ Zweig to Romain Rolland, 27 May 1939: B IV, p. 248.

⁵⁷⁴ Zweig to Felix Braun, 5 August 1939: B IV, p. 255.

enthusiasm, Zweig expresses doubts about the possibility of completing it. The work is thought of as 'das Allerschwerste',⁵⁷⁵ 'ungeheuer', 'das Schwere'.⁵⁷⁶ These doubts emerged as a consequence of both exile, its pragmatic and psychological difficulties, and the inherent impossibility of the project, the inevitable insufficiency of a response to the literary and archival representation of infinite mobility.

Zweig began writing in March 1939 in London, where he had taken with him his heavily annotated collected works of Balzac, and from there he was able to travel to Paris for research. With the war came another move to Bath and later New York and Brazil. His advanced drafts would not make it across the Atlantic in 1940, nor would his annotated editions of Balzac's works. The work could not continue in the manner it had during his time in England. Only with the gift of a new collected works of Balzac for his sixtieth birthday in 1941 could Zweig reignite the biography. Three months later, he and his wife took their lives. In his final letter to Friderike, the Balzac biography, the magnum opus, takes centre stage:

I liked Petropolis very much, but I had not the books I wanted and the solitude which first had such soothing effect began to become oppressive – the idea that my central work, the Balzac, could never get finished without two years of quiet life and all books was [sic] very hard [to obtain] and then this war, this eternal war, which is yet not at his [sic] height [sic]. I was too tired for all that and poor Lette [sic] had not a good time with me, especially as her health was not the best [...].⁵⁷⁷

The letter reveals a hierarchy: not being able to complete his central work '*and then this war*', significantly giving primacy to *Balzac* in his concerns.

The fact that Zweig waited until 1939 to begin a project he had always wanted to complete suggests that its failure was only partially dependant on the material circumstances of its creation. The epoch-making historical situation, which forced Zweig into exile, to some extent gave rise to his attempt at an epoch-making biography. War, exile, transition forced Zweig to think at the extreme, to consider his posterity, and into 'self-defence': 'ich brauchte eine Welt, um mich der anderen zu entziehen, die mich bedrückt und von der ich mich nicht zerdrücken lassen will. Aus Selbstverteidigung habe ich mir das Allerschwerste gesucht, um mich

⁵⁷⁵ Zweig to Felix Braun, January 1939: B IV, p.239.

⁵⁷⁶ Zweig to Felix Braun, 5 August 1939: B IV, p.255.

⁵⁷⁷ 22 February 1942, in *Stefan and Lotte Zweig's South American letters: New York, Argentina and Brazil, 1940-42*, ed. by Darién J. Davis and Oliver Marshall (London: Continuum, 2010), p. 394. Original in English.

abzulenken'.⁵⁷⁸ Zweig describes undertaking his most difficult challenge as the best distraction from war – an aesthetic response to a devastating reality. By evoking the 'Allerschwerste', Zweig hints at an impossibility that seeped into his remarks on his project from the outset, manifested in motifs of daring that surface in his letters. This impossibility surfaces in an earlier essay:

Ein Leben wäre vielleicht nochmals daran zu wenden, um es [dies höchste Denkmal künstlerischer Arbeit in Chantilly] würdig zu gestalten. [...] und fast scheint es, als wäre hier der vereinte Fleiß von Generationen notwendig, um die Biographie dieses Gewaltigen, die Geschichte dieser Arbeitsleidenschaft, dieser Frenesie des Schaffens würdig zu erzählen [...]⁵⁷⁹

It would take a lifetime to do justice to the work of Balzac, something that is best understood in the millions of lines of corrected proof. As the proofs of *Une Ténébreuse affaire* inform Zweig's biographical work, it is the same labyrinth, endlessness and material that leaves the lasting impression on Zweig's project.

For Zweig, the *magnum opus* was always figured as impossible ('es wurde unmöglich'⁵⁸⁰) because of Balzac's unending material, through which Zweig attempted to seize his object. As close as Zweig came to the biography, he had initially projected two volumes, there would always be more to write. For Zweig, Balzac's work amounted to a mere 'torso' of a greater whole: 'Und da keiner das Leben zu Ende dichtet, muß jedes Epos, das sich an ihm versucht, Torso bleiben, Fragment aus tausend Fragmenten'.⁵⁸¹ And, summarising his own project, he writes, 'deux fois hélas le Balzac qui n'est que le squelette du grand livre que j'aurais écrit si la guerre ne me l'avait pas défendu (c[']était le premier tome de deux grands)'.⁵⁸² Torso and skeleton; both images point to a whole by virtue of their fragmentation, a whole they idealize but do not capture.

⁵⁷⁸ Zweig to Felix Braun, January 1939: B IV, p.239.

⁵⁷⁹ Stefan Zweig, 'Besuch bei Balzac – 47, rue Reynouard', *Berliner Tageblatt*, 15 May 1914, pp. 1-2 (p.2).

⁵⁸⁰ Zweig to Franz and Alma Werfel, 20 October 1941, Briefe IV, p. 325.

⁵⁸¹ Zweig, 'Anmerkungen zu Balzac', p. 172.

⁵⁸² Zweig to Victor Wittkowski, 22 February 1942, Briefe IV, p. 343.

16 Balzac Reception

The history of Balzac reception is a history of contradictions.

With time, Balzac's ironies have, if anything, increased: the realist who was really a visionary; the political thinker who stood for parliament and denounced the evils of democracy; the monarchist hailed by Marxists as a revolutionary and whose works, for that reason, have always filled out the shelves of bookshops in Communist countries; the last traditional story-teller and father of the modern novel whose tales have confused or inspired most modern schools of criticism.⁵⁸³

The abundance of ideas in the *Comédie Humaine* offers critics the chance to interpret the work in multiple contradictory ways. Taine's influential work effectively read Balzac against himself – any reading might be accused of doing the same – to synthesize the author's self-proclaimed role as objective observer⁵⁸⁴ with a more Romantic figure of visionary. The poles of realism and imagination orientated the subsequent responses that read the infinitely applicable *Comédie Humaine* emphasising in various degrees its socio-economic, political, aesthetic or metaphysical values.

Balzac's Restoration France began to relate more effectively to turn-of-the-century Vienna and the spectrum of ideas present in the Germanic context – specifically post-Nietzschean, post-Marxian and now Freudian – manifested itself in a multiplicity of Balzac readings.⁵⁸⁵ During the same period, Karl Kraus could champion Balzac's 'Polemik',⁵⁸⁶ Hofmannsthal Balzac's 'Liebe',⁵⁸⁷ or Lukács Balzac's humanism 'gegen diesen notwendigen Schein der kapitalistischen Gesellschaft'.⁵⁸⁸ The critical pendulum swung as each perspective necessarily occluded its very legitimate opposite, thus there has always been something incomplete about and missing from a portrait of Balzac and his work. Gautier had already

⁵⁸³ Graham Robb, *Balzac: A Biography* (London: Picador, 1994), p. ix.

⁵⁸⁴ The idea of himself as a realist attends much of Balzac's thoughts on his work. The 'Avant-Propos de la Comédie Humaine', for instance, paints the author as the 'secretary' of society: 'La Société française allait être l'historien, je ne devais être que le secrétaire'.

⁵⁸⁵ Wolfgang Eitel, *Balzac in Deutschland: Untersuchungen zur Rezeption des französischen Romans in Deutschland 1830-1930* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1979), pp. 143-57.

⁵⁸⁶ Karl Kraus, 'Der Journalismus von Honoré de Balzac', *Die Fackel*, 4 (number 283) (1909), <<http://corpus1.aac.ac.at/fackel/>> [accessed 6 June 2019], p. 3.

⁵⁸⁷ Hugo von Hofmannsthal, 'Einleitung zur neuen Balzac-Ausgabe' (1908), in Hofmannsthal, *Kritische Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke Hugo von Hofmannsthals*, XXIII: *Reden und Aufsätze 2* (2009), ed. by Klaus-Dieter Krabiel, pp. 166-78.

⁵⁸⁸ Georg Lukács, *Balzac und der französische Realismus* (Berlin: Aufbau, 1952), p. 12

proclaimed ‘personne ne peut avoir la prétention de faire une biographie complète de Balzac’.⁵⁸⁹ And yet it seems valid for Max Simon Nordau to declare in 1900, ‘Über Balzac ist alles gesagt worden’.⁵⁹⁰ Simply put, there is a prolific history of contradictory critiques that render the task of the ‘Balzacianer’ impossible and any biography inherently inadequate.

Following Gautier’s dictum, Zweig intimated that no one had been able to produce the appropriate work on the great French author of the nineteenth century. Zweig wrote, ‘[i]ch habe das Gefühl, daß ich zu diesem Buch berechtigt bin wie niemand anderer – alles was ich las, ist inferior oder geschwätzig. Eine Unzahl von Kleinarbeiten, niemand aber hat den Mut zum Ganzen gehabt’.⁵⁹¹ Referring to a fellow scholar and Balzacianer by name, he notes, ‘Das Unterfangen ist ungeheuer, bisher hat es keiner gewagt (Curtius ist unzulänglich [sic])’.⁵⁹² An advert for Curtius’s *Balzac* reads: ‘Die schwierigste Aufgabe, den gewaltigen Stoff über das Leben und Denken Honoré de Balzacs zu formen und zu einem einheitlichen Ganzen, einem völlig neuen “Balzac”-Gemälde zu verschmelzen, hat Professor Curtius in diesem Werk unternommen’.⁵⁹³ The advert admits the difficulty of the task and stops short of affirming that the author has in fact managed to achieve the perfect synthesis, since the verb used is the less definitive ‘unternehmen’. Curtius’s study, a five-hundred-page thematic analysis, shapes Balzac’s life and work into philosophical, emotional and psychological categories (Geheimnis, Magie, Energie, Leidenschaft, Liebe, Macht, Erkenntnis, Gesellschaft, Politik, Religion, Romantik), which not just Zweig found *insufficient*.⁵⁹⁴

Later critics identify Curtius’s approach as deriving ‘von einem literaturtheoretisch untauglichen Schema’,⁵⁹⁵ and ‘ein wenig zu schnell ins Metaphysische hineindaemonisier[t]’,⁵⁹⁶ or deliberately echo Zweig’s own dissatisfaction with ‘jener in der Tat unzulänglichen, weil nur mit Balzac’schen Kategorien arbeitenden Studie’.⁵⁹⁷ Hermann Bahr compares Curtius’ text unfavourably against Zweig’s brief biographical sketch in *Drei Meister*, as Zweig’s essay is ‘nicht bloß mehr über ihn [Balzac], sondern er selber steht da’, while Curtius, ‘atemlos unten um ihn herumlaufend, [ihm] niemals erblickt oder jedenfalls uns niemals erblicken läßt’. The analytical

⁵⁸⁹ Théophile Gautier, *Portrait de Balzac* (Montpellier: l’Anabase, 1994), p. 103.

⁵⁹⁰ Max Simon Nordau, *Zeitgenössische Franzosen. Litteraturgeschichtliche Essays* (Berlin: Hofmann, 1901), p. 3.

⁵⁹¹ Zweig to Ben Huebsch, March/April 1939: B IV, p. 242.

⁵⁹² Zweig to Felix Braun, 5 August 1939: B IV, p. 255. ‘Unzulänglich’ [sic] is written in the original.

⁵⁹³ Advert in *Österreichische Büchhändler-Correspondenz*, 9 May 1924, p. 9.

⁵⁹⁴ Ernst Robert Curtius, *Balzac* (Bonn: F. Cohen, 1923), 2nd edn (Bern: Francke, 1951) referenced.

⁵⁹⁵ Kurt Böttcher, ‘Der Lebensroman des unerschöpflichen Balzac’, *Neue Deutsche Literatur*, 7 (1959), 44-56 (p. 54).

⁵⁹⁶ François Bondy, ‘Balzac der Mächtige’, *Die Weltwoche*, 15 (1947), p. 5.

⁵⁹⁷ Görner, *Formen einer Sprachkunst*, p. 83.

approach inhibits understanding the true sense of Balzac and the 'schaffende[r] Urtrieb eines Künstlers.' For Bahr, this approach, while aimed at developing a deeper knowledge of its subject, works to distance it:

Embrasser l'infini, das ja vielleicht Balzacs schöpferisches Urwort, aber jedesmal, wenn Curtius eben schon daran scheint, dieses Geheimnis ergreifen zu können, stürzt er schon immer gleich wieder in einen Exkurs ab: er weiß zu viel und glänzt zu gern damit; die Macht von Meisterwerken liegt im Verschweigen und eben im Verschweigen bloß ruht doch auch das Wesen von Gestalt: in der Einengung auf das eine, was allein not ist.⁵⁹⁸

For Gadamer, the facility with which Curtius maps contemporary society onto the *Comédie Humaine* does not do justice to the nuances of each: 'Curtius' Darstellung ist getragen von einer letzten Endes ungeschichtlichen Selbstbestätigung der modernen Welt'.⁵⁹⁹ What both Bahr and Gadamer agree on is the difficulty to *explain* Balzac, whether that is through Bahr's insistence on a 'less is more' approach, or Gadamer's implicit suggestion of the need for a greater critical historical engagement. Zweig's passing reference to the 'Unzulänglichkeit' of Curtius's work begins to seem less vague in the context of contemporary reviews, which accept Curtius's command of the material and simultaneously locate the weakness of the work in its analytical ambition. Curtius's *Balzac* assumes an ambiguous role as both the paradigm of German Balzac studies, 'the best German book about Balzac',⁶⁰⁰ which develops the 'Leitbegriffe des Balzacschen Denkens',⁶⁰¹ and as the exemplary unsuccessful Balzac monograph – a highpoint of expansion and reduction at the same time. This is the impossibility of capturing the immensity of the figure, the difficulty to approach a writer, to whom Bahr gave the dictum, 'embrasser l'infini'.

Hofmannsthal's 1908 essay on Balzac was still the measure of critical excellence and proximity to the *Balzacian*, when Zweig's Balzac project re-surfaced in 1939. Curtius accepted the necessity of a poet to express Balzac's vital aspects: 'es bedurfte eines Dichters, um Balzacs Dichtertum in seiner ganzen Intensität und Gegenwärtigkeit zu zeigen. Dieser Dichter ist Hugo von Hofmannsthal gewesen. [...] Sie [die Seiten Hofmannsthals Essay] scheinen nicht über Balzac, sondern aus Balzac selbst heraus zu sprechen.'⁶⁰² Hofmannsthal focuses on the rich

⁵⁹⁸ Hermann Bahr, 'Tagebuch 22. August', *Neues Wiener Journal*, 16 September 1923, p. 10.

⁵⁹⁹ Hans-Georg Gadamer, 'Review: Ernst Robert Curtius Balzac', *Logos: Zeitschrift für systematische Philosophie*, 14 (1925), pp. 361-2.

⁶⁰⁰ Clive James, *Cultural Amnesia: Notes in the Margin of my Time* (London: Picador, 2007), p. 156.

⁶⁰¹ Eitel, p. 160.

⁶⁰² Curtius, *Balzac*, p. 410.

‘Substanz’ of Balzac’s world that thrusts the reader into feeling ‘Welt’ itself.⁶⁰³ That *substantial* world is ‘in finitis modis’, as ‘alles ist in Bewegung gesehen [...] Alles ist Übergang’, and buckling under an overburdened aesthetic that is pushed ‘bis zum Überschweren’.⁶⁰⁴ Hofmannsthal understands the author’s presence in this world as elusive, a mask that dissolves in the dynamic richness of his world, which stands in contrast to the other major influential Balzac interpretation of the era: Rodin’s Promethean sculpture, that ‘virile image of Balzac as creator of his own world’.⁶⁰⁵ Rodin’s Balzac required distance from the subject’s own time to be appreciated and both Robb and Hofmannsthal see the Nietzschean *Übermensch* as an important transition. Balzac’s actuality in the turn-of-the-century Germanic context is contingent on a certain ‘Nietzsche-Kult’, a ‘Typus des Willensmenschen’ in Balzac.⁶⁰⁶ Rilke’s Rodin essay articulates the proliferative creativity of the sculpture: ‘Das war Balzac in der Fruchtbarkeit seines Überflusses, der Gründer von Generationen, der Verschwender von Schicksalen’.⁶⁰⁷ Between Hofmannsthal’s and Rodin’s interpretation of Balzac’s ‘Überfluss’, ‘Überschwere’, ‘Übermaß’, lies the difference between a tentative and dynamic experience of *world* and the direct correlation of Balzac’s world with his person.

Stefan Zweig’s unfinished biography of Balzac was necessarily influenced by this spectrum of readings and it constantly circulates the ‘Genie-Kult’ depiction of Balzac, almost a literary equivalent to Rodin’s sculpture. If Hofmannsthal and Zweig share the approach of animating the Balzacian, what Curtius articulated as ‘nicht über Balzac, sondern aus Balzac selbst heraus zu sprechen’, then they diverge on what it means to write ‘aus Balzac selbst’. Hofmannsthal animates the experience of reading and living a second world more intense than our own, whose originator is diffuse, occasionally present as the elusive face in the crowd. To speak ‘aus Balzac selbst’ then means to speak as if *in* his world, for Hofmannsthal. Zweig’s tendency is to animate the production of that world, the proliferation of life ‘aus Balzac selbst’ – Rodin’s virile creator. ‘L’homme entier’ is Zweig’s focus and it is the nature of the omnivorous reception context for both approaches to incorporate each other. In constant dialogue with Balzac’s letters, self-reflections, revisions, with the excessive personality of Balzac, Zweig can only represent this same authorial dominance, recognized everywhere throughout the

⁶⁰³ Hofmannsthal, ‘Einleitung zur neuen Balzac-Ausgabe’, p. 166

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 173-74.

⁶⁰⁵ Stephen C. McGough, ‘Rodin and Balzac: Creators of Tumultuous Life’ in *Rodin and Balzac. Rodin’s Sculptural Studies for the Monument to Balzac from the Cantor, Fitzgerald Collection. An Exhibition prepared at Stanford University*, ed. by Albert Elsen, Stephen C. McGough, and Steven H. Wander (Beverly Hills, CA: Cantor, Fitzgerald, 1973), p. 57.

⁶⁰⁶ Eitel, p. 144.

⁶⁰⁷ Rainer Maria Rilke, ‘Auguste Rodin [erster Teil, 1902]’, in *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. by Ernst Zinn, 7 vols (Frankfurt am Main: Insel, 1955-66), 5: *Worpswede. Rodin. Aufsätze*, pp. 139-202 (p. 197).

reception. Zweig finds a personal literary melodrama befitting his history of great creators and yet to represent this surplus of personality *and* society, 'ein Leben wäre vielleicht nochmals daran zu wenden'.

17 The Content

17.1 Biography as *Lebensroman*

While Zweig's Balzac should be considered a history as all biography 'is a part of historiography',⁶⁰⁸ the biographer explicitly considers the work in the frame of *Lebensroman*, a term which becomes the title of the third book of the biography. Zweig's biography embodies the Balzacian novel into its own structure. Keckeis sees Zweig develop a textual strategy that mediates between historical fact and literary imagination, which is born out of the same synthesis of observation and fantasy emblematic of the *Comédie Humaine*: 'Zweigs biografischer Methode liegt die These zugrunde, dass Balzacs Leben einem literarischen Regime folge'.⁶⁰⁹ Zweig's formal historiographical strategy of 'historisch treue Darstellung' is combined with the empathetic mode of narration, aiming at a structural fidelity resonant of the Balzacian experience. It is the history of a literary persona, whose literariness becomes necessary for the retelling of his life. Keckeis suggests a host of poetological reflections that can therefore be intimated from the biography that is also a novel. For example, its length, comparable to no other literary biography in the Zweig oeuvre, becomes a consequence of absorbing a realist strategy of presenting inordinate detail to allow for the connections to emerge themselves. Thus, Keckeis opens *Balzac* to the possibility of a Balzacian reading. This possibility is balanced by Zweig's tendency towards narrative harmonisation. To what extent is the portrait reductively synthesized through a 'biographical illusion' of subjective coherence⁶¹⁰ and to what extent is that literary procedure enough to recreate a faithful impression of a scene?

The literariness of the biography is established in the first chapter, 'immer siegt trotz aller nachträglichen Berichtigungen Dichtung über die Geschichte' (BZ, p. 10). This line sets forth a history through which difficulties in the world can be overcome by the imagination of the

⁶⁰⁸ René Wellek and Austin Warren, *Theory of Literature* (1949) (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975), p. 75.

⁶⁰⁹ Paul Keckeis, 'Balzac', in HB, p. 467.

⁶¹⁰ See Paul Bourdieu, 'L'Illusion biographique', *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales*, 62/63 (1986), 69-72.

creator. It also embeds a justification for a literary approach to the retelling of a literary life. Zweig does recognize this challenge to the biographer, as he warns of Balzac's overdramatization of his own situation in his personal writing:

An solche Überdramatisierungen in brieflicher Form muss man sich bei einem Manne gewöhnen, der immer sein Leben zu einer „vie romancée“ umdichtet [...]. Balzac ist, mit allem Respekt gesagt – immer unwahr, wenn er sich selbst darstellt. Als Romanschriftsteller Übertreiber, Steigerer von Beruf, sucht er aus jeder Begegnung das Maximum an Möglichkeiten herauszuholen, und es wäre eigentlich auch absurd, wenn die unablässig in ihm schaffende Phantasie gegenüber den Phänomenen seiner eigenen Existenz plötzlich gleichgültig, ohnmächtig und unproduktiv bliebe.

Wer Balzac darstellt, muss ihn also gegen sein eigenes Zeugnis darstellen. Er darf sich nicht von der pathetischen Enunziation des Dichters blenden lassen, das kleine Faktum, dass eine Komtesse ihm verweigert habe, was man in Frankreich „la bagatelle“ nennt, habe den Keim zu seinem tödlichen Herzleiden gelegt, wie er seiner Schwester versicherte. In Wirklichkeit ist Balzac kaum je gesünder, energischer, fleißiger, schöpferischer und mehr lebensbejahend gewesen als in diesen Jahren. (BZ, p. 222)

Yet, as Zweig reads Balzac against his testimony, the reader of Zweig's biography must heed the same advice when the work itself attempts to depict the *Lebensroman* in a faithful dramatic rendering. Zweig inhabits the subjects of his biographies and *Balzac* is no different. This is not simply a facet of Zweig's method, rather it is something instantiated by the nature of Balzac, so that Robb must also accept at the beginning of his biography: 'Having allowed myself to be convinced by Balzac that imagination is an ally of truth, I have fallen quite happily into the trap of telling a story'.⁶¹¹

To tell a story, to write a *Lebensroman*, seems to be the apt response to Balzac. In Zweig's case, it is hard to extricate the biography from his engagement with the sources and the creative process of his central figure. Balzac was a literary text for Zweig, a text that in Balzac's own hands is rematerialized into pulsating life. An author, who was constantly articulating himself, constantly self-reflexive, autobiographical, self-questioning, self-mythologizing, and all this in letters, diaries, notes, in autobiographical passages in the oeuvre, and manifested in the

⁶¹¹ Robb, p. xiv.

battlefield of his corrected pages, the staging of a spectacle of self. Zweig is here in dialogue with a specific literary phenomenon in continual self-articulation and the excessive archival personality looms large on the process and work of the biographer. In Balzac, Zweig comes up against the personification of history as he conceived it: 'ein riesiges Palimpsest, ein zusammengestoppeltes, nein, ein zu neun Zehnteln verdorbenes Manuskript'.⁶¹²

17.2 Thematic Summary

Balzac revolves around the manifestation of genius, to which the revised first line of the first chapter attests:

Ein Mann von dem Genie Balzacs, der Kraft einer überschwenglichen Phantasie einen vollkommenen zweiten Kosmos neben den irdischen zu stellen vermag, wird nur selten fähig sein, bei belanglosen Episoden seiner privaten Existenz sich immer streng an die nüchterne Wahrheit zu halten; alles wird sich bei ihm der souveränen umformenden Willkür seines Willens unterordnen. (BZ, p. 9)

Zweig establishes the tension that will run through the biography, between reality and fantasy, which will incorporate a host of binaries: society and individual; material conditions and creative imagination; fate and will. Ultimately, Zweig traces the different forms that Balzac's genius takes, avoiding a true development *towards* genius in favour of the unveiling of an innate genius. Hence the insistence on the explicit articulation of genius from the very beginning. Balzac's overwhelming fantasy leads to his invented nobility, the 'de' in the name, allowing Zweig to assert that the Balzacian imagination overcame the facts of genealogy to cement the name as Honoré *de* Balzac. Thus, 'immer siegt trotz aller Berichtigungen Dichtung über die Geschichte'. The biographer insists from the very beginning then that the life we are about to read is ultimately a story of triumph: his genius and conquering imagination are facts that are to be exemplified rather than developed.

All Balzac's life events are read through the prism of genius and every contingent decision becomes explicable as a consequence of deeper psychological causes. Balzac's childhood struggles are exacerbated through Zweig's depiction of a starkly oppressive mother: 'Aber gewiss ist, dass ein gleichgültigeres liebloseres Verhalten einer Mutter gegen ihr Kind kaum zu erdenken ist als das ihre' (BZ, p. 17). Exaggerating the 'Gefängniszelle' (BZ, p. 40) of his

⁶¹² Stefan Zweig, 'Die Geschichte als Dichterin', p. 350.

first writing studio means he can only achieve his first full-length work, the drama *Cromwell*, through his 'monomanische Energie'. Robb, in contrast, does not rely on the testimony of the subject and moderates the description of Balzac's accommodation: 'It was a room on the respectable third floor, and if near-starvation kept his mind "in a state of singular lucidity", it was either by choice or because he had forgotten to go out for supplies'.⁶¹³ For Zweig, Balzac's 'wahres Genie lag im Willen' (BZ, p. 139) and every act of will points to his genius. His 'körperliches Genie', which 'lag einzig in seiner Vitalität, seiner Vehemenz, seiner Kraft' (BZ, p. 149) manifests in the incomparable sexual energy of the man: 'Die stärkste sexuelle Fähigkeit [...] die einem Manne gegeben sein kann' (BZ, p. 75). Conversely, even a hiatus from writing becomes an act of genius: 'Ein Genie des Aufnehmens und Behaltens, ist Balzac auch ein Genie des Vergessens' (BZ, p. 358).

The underlying logic of genius co-opts failures and mistakes into a singular narrative so that they become collateral damage in a higher plan. Every aberration can become a triumph. His 'kommerzielles Zwischenspiel', the decision to open a printing and typesetting venture, was an unqualified disaster, leaving Balzac bankrupt. Yet, it gives Balzac the experience of reality, through which his idealism could be balanced: 'Er hat die ungeheure, die dämonische Bedeutung des Geldes in unserem materialistischen Zeitalter erfahren [...] Zu der Imagination des jungen Idealisten ist die Klarheit des Realisten, der Skeptizismus des Betrogenen getreten' (p. 116). Elsewhere, Balzac's 'prostitution' as a writer of trash literature under a pseudonym, 'diese Skribbelei' (p. 68), uncovers 'schon die ungeheure eruptive Kraft seiner Produktion'. In other words, the spirit of labour is learned and '[d]ie Kraft zum Werk ist gewonnen: nun fehlt nur noch die Gnade des Schicksals dazu' (p. 72-73).

Zweig's genius figures are always destined to struggle towards recognition and Balzac's 'Wille zur Macht' is always in tension with a diffuse fate. That impotence against historical forces is encapsulated typically in natural imagery: 'in der Natur geschieht es manchmal, dass zwei oder drei Gewitter, von verschiedenen Seiten kommend, an einem Orte zusammenstoßen und sich dann mit verzehnfachter Gewalt entladen. So bricht von allen Seiten Unheil auf Balzac ein' (p. 313). Fate is everywhere pushed against by the Balzacian ego and Zweig formulates that tension between individual creative force and historic-cosmic laws, between disaster with defiance:

Man versteht den Menschen Balzac nicht, wenn man nicht sein letztes Geheimnis kennt: die aus einem ungeheuren Sicherheitsbewusstsein stammende Indifferenz

⁶¹³ Robb, p. 56.

gegen all das, was man gemeiniglich Schicksal und Schicksalsprüfungen nennt. Etwas in ihm – und vielleicht ist das die innerste Substanz seines Wesens – hat an den Katastrophen seines äußeren Lebens gar keinen Anteil und sieht diesen Stürmen mit der gleichen gespannten Neugier zu, wie man vom festen Lande aus auf eine mörderisch aufgeregte See blickt [...] Eine geheime Gegenkraft in ihm arbeitet auf ständigen Ausgleich: je mehr er sich verschuldet, umso mehr will er sich durch solche kostspielige Läppereien einen Luxus vorillusionieren. Je schwerer die Umstände ihn drücken, um so mehr steigt wie im Barometer das Quecksilber der Lebenslust. Je strenger er in die Tretmühle gepresst ist, um so stärker will er genießen. Ohne diese Antithese wäre sein Leben narrenhaft. Durch sie allein wird es grandios: ewiges Ausströmen eines vulkanisch überladenen, nur in Explosionen und Eruptionen sich auslebenden Elements. (BZ, p. 333-34)

The principle of antithesis is a key principle in Zweig's historical understanding. The logic remains binary and uncomplicated by the multiple social and political exigencies that affect a life, or they remain beside the central thesis. External factors become amorphous natural disasters that represent both social phenomena and predetermined fate. Against that, the inflated genius personality is in constant struggle. Zweig makes no suggestion of a synthesis, of an insertion of the individual into the external network, and stays faithful to a 'bifurcated' historical concept:

The idea that history is more than a combination of grand, inscrutable forces and great egotists never occurred to Stefan Zweig because he never availed himself of a method for explaining their structural and dynamic interrelations. History as mystery had greater beauty.⁶¹⁴

Zweig's focus on the individual informs his interest in the creative process in *Balzac*. Balzac is Zweig's quintessential creator for his excess of both imagination and labour. Creative process takes a central position in the biography and is abstracted from the chronological narrative. Zweig elevates Balzac's drafts above any biographical means of understanding the writer's true nature: 'Stärker als auf jedem Porträt, eindrucksvoller als in allen Anekdoten seiner Zeitgenossen wird hier die eigentliche Urkraft Balzacs erkenntlich, die titanische Energie seiner Arbeit' (p. 193). The military imagery surfaces once again as Balzac launches into corrections 'mit der Wucht einer Kavallerieattacke' and Zweig elaborates on the practical, material elements of the process:

⁶¹⁴ Steiman, 'The Worm in the Rose', p. 147.

Vor allem müssen die Blätter groß und lang sein, jedes in Doppelfolio, damit die gedruckte Spalte darinnensitzt wie ein Atout in der Karte, und zur Rechten, zur Linken, oben und unten der vierfache und achtfache Raum bleibt für Veränderungen und Verbesserungen. Außerdem müssen die Korrekturen statt auf das gewöhnliche, billige und gelbliche Papier auf weißes gesetzt werden, damit jede Letter sich deutlich vom Untergrunde abhebt und somit das Auge nicht ermüdet. (p. 189)

That practical, well-researched representation of the stuff of Balzac's writing is complemented by an intense embodiment of the fever, the pace and the physicality of the process itself. 'Die Hand erlahmt [...] das Blut pocht' and that bodily sacrifice is kept from exhaustion by his will but also the copious amount of coffee that was crucial to the process. Zweig animates this experience of the writer's studio in extraordinary detail and is often celebrated for this insight into creative process, what Böttcher calls the 'Verstehen des individuell-künstlerischen Prozesses, mit dem er geistvoll und in dieser Einseitigkeit wissentief bisher wenig Bekanntes darbietet'.⁶¹⁵

17.3 Critical Response

Bondy touches on the contradictory elements that make Zweig's *Balzac* both an example of the most reductive elements of Zweig's work and an example distinct from the œuvre:

Stefan Zweigs 'Balzac' [...] ist eine im besten Sinn des Wortes anspruchslose, sehr kluge und ungeheuer spannende Lebensbeschreibung. Es fehlt in ihm die Gesellschaft und die Zeit in ihrer Dichte und Fülle [...] es fehlt die künstlerische, geistige, religiöse Problematik Balzacs in ihrer Tiefe, es fehlt das ganze Drama jenes Balzac, der vom Willen zum sozialen Aufstieg ('Ruhm und Reichtum') beherrscht ist und ihm doch ein Werk entreißt, das den sozialen Aufstieg mit romantischer Ironie und naturalistischer Strenge entlarvt: in der Erbärmlichkeit und Entgeistigung dessen, dem er gelingt, in dem Wunden und Verkümmern dessen, der scheitert. Alles das schrumpft bei Stefan Zweig zusammen zur rein individualistisch gesehen bunten, spannenden, tragischen Geschichte eines

⁶¹⁵ Böttcher, p. 56.

zwischen Lebens und Liebesgier und Arbeitswut hin und her geworfenen Romantikers, der sich in seiner eigenen Flamme verzehrt.⁶¹⁶

Despite the flaws identified, despite the narrow focus and the reduction to the individual, Bondy finds something of the Balzacian about the work. Such flaws are always risks in a genre that necessarily presents the history of an individual, often to the detriment of the full social scope of events. A biography can offer insight into events but can never perfectly mitigate the risks of a mis-representation through an invested construction of meaning:

[...] we can expect the 'literariness' of biographical writing mentioned earlier to manifest in two related ways. First, in the manner in which the *récit* is conducted – in the narrational techniques, rhetorical devices and aesthetic forms that 'Lives' display; and secondly, in how meaning accrues in a life story through the deployment of biographical data in the creation of a symbolising narrative, a narrative achieved through the art of selecting and configuring the particular sequence of episodes that will illuminate the personality of the subject.⁶¹⁷

These fundamental criteria of a literary biography produce the tension between Zweig's artistry or intense empathetic mode and the potential to harmonize to the point of misrepresentation and historical reduction.

Critics routinely lamented Zweig's biographical approach. Löwenthal's critique begins with the premise that, popular biography is 'vor allem ein Beitrag zur Analyse ihrer Leserschicht, ein Beitrag zur kritik der geistigen Kultur des späten Liberalismus'.⁶¹⁸ In other words, there is a feedback loop between these biographies and their audience, such that 'der Biograph ist Lieferant der Soziologie für Massenkonsum' (p. 367).⁶¹⁹ Adorno includes such biographies in a 'flood of cultural trash-literature', which 'have promoted the neutralizing transformation of cultural artifacts into commodities'.⁶²⁰ The accusation is that Zweig's approach is driven by its facility to be consumed and enjoyed. By framing biographies with the categories of the individual, the psychological, the irrational and obscuring objective perspective, the reader is rarely challenged to think beyond their inner worlds, society is rarely depicted in terms that challenge the status quo, if it is depicted at all. What Adorno refers to as 'hermeneutic

⁶¹⁶ Bondy, p. 5.

⁶¹⁷ Michael Benton, *Towards a Poetics of Literary Biography* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), chapter 'Introduction: Lives without Theory', ebook, without page numbers.

⁶¹⁸ Leo Löwenthal, 'Die Biographische Mode', p. 364.

⁶¹⁹ Ibid., p. 367.

⁶²⁰ Theodor W. Adorno, 'The Essay as Form', trans. by Bob Hullot-Kentor and Frederic Will, *New German Critique*, No. 32 (1984), pp. 151-71, p. 154.

psychology' is precisely how Zweig understood his practice as historian and the concentrated focus on personality above society is his approach towards filling the gaps of understanding.

In *Balzac*, the omnipotence and omniscience of the hero is illustrated in terms that explicitly dismiss the agency of external forces:

Dieser kleine Kreis von Menschen um Balzac ist im wesentlichen schon geschlossen, als er sein eigentliches Werk aufnimmt; im dreißigsten Jahr ist seine rezeptive Zeit zu Ende. Er braucht keine Anregungen mehr, keine Aussprachen, keine Lektüre, keine Kenntnisse, keine Menschen. Alles ist in ihm bereit, und was er an Geist und Genie, an Wärme und Intensität zu geben hat, wird nur noch seinem Werk gehören. 'Ein großer Baum', sagt er einmal, 'trocknet den Boden in seiner Umgebung aus'. Er zieht, um blühen und Früchte tragen zu können, alle Kraft aus seiner Umgebung an sich. Wenn auch mit Hunderten Menschen durch gelegentliche Bekanntschaften verbunden, wird Balzac den inneren Kreis, der in seinem dreißigsten Jahre schon geformt ist, doch nicht mehr erweitern. (BZ, p. 160)

The literary hero only extracts abundance from his environment in this analogy and forms an incorruptible solidity and coherence that leads to his great works. Löwenthal's notion of a 'Soziologie für Massenkonsum' then ties in with Adorno's criticism of hermeneutic psychology in this example that reasserts the possibility of an integral and independent self. Löwenthal recalls Kracauer's seminal essay on biography, which diagnoses a similar feeding off bourgeois tastes. Literary biography provides 'endlich die Stütze [...], die sie anderswo vergeblich suchten, das gültige Bezugssystem, das sie der subjektiven Willkür enthebt'.⁶²¹ For Kracauer, 'Die Moral der Biographie ist: daß sie im Chaos der gegenwärtigen Kunstübungen die einzige scheinbar notwendige Prosaform darstellt'.⁶²² By favouring this 'Museum der großen Individuen' ahead of histories open to the lower classes, to the masses in general, Kracauer sees a 'Flucht' from a responsible history of society and suggests that in every biography 'der Glanz des Abschieds ruht auf ihrer Gemeinschaft'.⁶²³

The rhetorical strategies that characterize Zweig's biography in the eyes of these critics are generalisation, typologisation, and relativism. Generalisation is evident through the

⁶²¹ Siegfried Kracauer, 'Die Biographie als neubürgerliche Kunstform' (1930), in *Theorie der Biographie. Grundlagentexte und Kommentar*, ed. by Bernhard Fetz and Wilhelm Hemecker (Berlin; New York: De Gruyter, 2011), p. 120.

⁶²² Ibid., p. 121.

⁶²³ Ibid., p. 122.

overuse of the word 'immer': 'Was war, war immer so, ist so, und so wird es bleiben – ist die Weisheit wie bei jeder generalisierenden Methode so auch ihrer populären Ableger.'⁶²⁴ By forcing accident into the realm of the normative, events become predestined and the actors – as examples to readers – become inactive in the face of an inflated normality. This is compounded by what Löwenthal calls a 'Naturpantheismus', an indomitable fate that leads to the 'Verewigung des Gegensatzes von Macht und Ohnmacht'.⁶²⁵ Zweig's *Balzac* is no less suffused with this natural pantheism. Omnipotent nature as fate is equivalent to the tide of history, against which the individual can do nothing.

Typologisation is a result of Zweig trying to assert his figure in this determined world. An over-reliance on the superlative construction removes a character's individuality in favour of an adjectival label – the protagonist becomes no more particular or individual than the quality of which they are the supreme example. Scheuer articulates the notion as an 'Entindividualisierung', where 'die Typik die Oberhand gewonnen [hat]'.⁶²⁶ The inverse is the exaggerated *Vermenschlichung* of subjects like Zweig's Marie Antoinette in his 'Bildnis eines mittleren Menschen': 'Diese Reduktion auf das Ewigmenschliche zieht auch für die Persönlichkeitszeichnung der historischen Figuren eine Entpersönlichung nach sich, wird den Gestalten doch gerade ihre Exzeptionalität, ihre je singuläre Struktur vorenthalten'.⁶²⁷

Typologisation and generalisation therefore combine to give a character, whose impotence in the face of an omnipotent history is enacted through either an exaggerated exemplarity or an exaggerated ordinariness. It ultimately comes down to a movement between a history as dictated by individuals and a history directed by larger structures. For Löwenthal and Scheuer, this is 'relativism': 'in diesem Schwanken und beliebigen Wechsel zwischen dem Generellen und dem Individuellen wird seine spezifische Rolle für den späten Liberalismus deutlich: er hat nichts vom bewußten Zynismus der Herren, sondern lebt aus dem Bedürfnis, die Ratlosigkeit der Besiegten zu bemänteln'.⁶²⁸ These critics see the operation of popular biography to be a cover-up, masking the powerlessness that is re-affirmed through their rhetoric. Scheuer

⁶²⁴ Löwenthal, p. 367.

⁶²⁵ Ibid., p. 371.

⁶²⁶ Scheuer, p. 176.

⁶²⁷ Ibid., p. 187.

⁶²⁸ Löwenthal, p. 385.

labels this underlying operation to offer coherence to history, or in Peter Szondi's words, the 'Verführung narrative Harmonisierung'.⁶²⁹

The most comprehensive critique of the *Balzac* biography sets the trend for later more favourable reception by Zweig scholars by accepting what critics accuse the work of without ultimately disallowing *Balzac* its merit. Böttcher's 1959 essay is cited at the very end of Beck's afterword to *Balzac*:

Wir verdanken Stefan Zweig eine Biographie (für die wissenschaftliche Psychologie und ihre künstlerische Anwendung immer eine wesentliche Voraussetzung bleibt), die ein dichterisch gelungener, nacherlebbarer und im ganzen richtiger, aber nicht immer auf das Wesentliche gerichteter Lebensroman des Großen Dichters geworden ist – ein Geschenk vor allem für die Leser, die Balzacs Werke kennen und sich bereits sicheren Standpunkt ihnen gegenüber erarbeitet haben.⁶³⁰

The selective quotation of the last passage from the review might get across some of Böttcher's reservations, but Böttcher's piece is predominantly taken up with a similar deconstruction of Zweig's historiography as the critical theorists before. 'Zweig war kein theoretischer Kopf', he explains, reading in Zweig's work an 'idealistische und zugleich widersprüchliche kulturpsychologische Geschichtskonzeption' as well as 'eine ebenso idealistische Psychologie' that only treats the phenomena and not the underlying causes. Zweig's idea that historians must be psychologists is where Böttcher locates the biographer's theoretical weakness. The reliance on psychological phenomena and the lack of analysis leaves any conflicts – psychological or otherwise – all too quickly resolved: 'Diese mechanische, psychologisch-fatalistische Lösung behindert die Darstellung einer echten dialektischen Entwicklung des Menschen Balzac'.⁶³¹ Balzac's plebeian upbringing is often called upon to explain his actions later in life, used too readily, along with other basic premises, as a key to complex situations.

Nonetheless, Böttcher finds value especially in the depiction of Balzac's working process. Ultimately, Zweig's restricted historical concept is seen to be amenable for a subject like Balzac: 'Freilich muss man betonen, dass für Stefan Zweigs einführende und lediglich

⁶²⁹ Peter Szondi cited in Scheuer, p. 222, and refers to Szondi, 'Für eine nicht mehr narrative Historie', in *Geschichte – Ereignis und Erzählung*, ed. by Reinhart Koselleck and Wolf-Dieter Stempel (Munich, 1973), pp. 540-2.

⁶³⁰ Böttcher, p. 57.

⁶³¹ Ibid., p. 55.

nachzeichnende Betrachtung der Gegenstand entscheidend ist!’⁶³² The lack of objective, academic approach fails completely when applied to a subject like Nietzsche, he writes. The example of Zweig’s essay on Nietzsche, who was co-opted into National Socialist ideology in the 1930s, is perhaps deliberately chosen to highlight the potential consequences of a biographical genre that is ‘Soziologie für Massenkonsum’. The genre’s propensity to advance a history of great men, while at the same time articulating humanity’s impotence amidst the natural forces of historical progress, can, for these critics of biography, only lead to the cultivation of a passive middle-class harbouring an emboldened belief in the cult of personality.

Wenn das Individuum die Welt meist nur noch tragisch erleben und sie mehr leidend als handelnd bestehen kann, wenn Schicksal und Dämonie in amor fati akzeptiert werden müssen, um das Leben erträglich werden zu lassen, dann kann der verunsicherte Leser für sich wenig Hoffnung schöpfen und schon gar nicht Handlungsanreize aus den Biographien erhalten.⁶³³

Böttcher’s careful deconstruction of Zweig’s biographical approach at once consigns *Balzac* to Adorno’s ‘trash-literature’ of ‘skillful superficiality’, while finding enough in the same dismantled approach to save it, finding enough to merit precisely in such skilful superficiality. That it is a matter of a biography of a literary subject renders Zweig’s poetic approach to history more benign and more apt for Böttcher.

Later criticism then rehabilitates the narrative qualities of the biography. After Böttcher, Le Rider articulates the tension in Zweig’s biography as follows:

Das ist vor allem die unleugbare Erzählkunst Stefan Zweig[s], der es versteht, Balzacs Biographie zu einem spannenden Roman zu gestalten und ein detailreiches Wissen mühelos und unpedantisch zu vermitteln. [...] Da ist andererseits das persönliche Engagement Stefan Zweigs für sein Sujet. Da wird nicht irgendeine Schriftstellerbiographie angeboten, sondern eine Kultfigur durch ihren Verehrer zelebriert.⁶³⁴

Balzac is certainly Zweig’s richest biography in terms of source material and everyday detail and incorporates large quotations from the subject’s life and work. Keckeis relates this mass of detail to the structural empathy between biographer and biographee, the attempt to render a faithful portrait through the literary strategy of the subject. This realist-visionary focus on layers of

⁶³² Ibid., p. 56.

⁶³³ Scheuer, p. 207.

⁶³⁴ In Huemer, ‘Stefan Zweig als Biograph von Balzac’, p. 85.

detail is usefully related and brought into interaction with the modern imagination by Peter Brooks, who sees in the Balzacian something of Freudian psychology. For Brooks, 'Freud represents our most convincing modern breakthrough in the recovery for meaning of what might appear to be outside any systems of meaning', the same goal of the 'melodramatic expressionism' he identifies in Balzac.⁶³⁵ Pressing towards the symbolic order through an articulation of minute detail, as in Freudian dream psychology, Balzacian vision likewise exhibits 'the possibility of acceding to the latent through the signs of the world'.⁶³⁶

Keckeis's suggestion that Zweig's approach mimics the Balzacian, supported by the designation *Lebensroman* for the biography, opens *Balzac* to the framework of the melodramatic imagination. Brooks's conclusion introduces a counterpart to melodrama that he uses to define its limits, that is tragedy, or what he terms 'the spurious tragification of experience':

The fall of the tragic hero brings a superior illumination, [...] self-recognition and recognition of one's place in the cosmos. Tragedy generates meaning ultimately in terms of orders higher than one man's experience, orders invested by the community with holy and synthesizing power. Its pity and terror derive from the sense of communal sacrifice and transformation. Melodrama offers us heroic confrontation, purgation, purification, recognition. But its recognition is essentially of the integers in combat and the need to choose sides. It produces panic terror and sympathetic pity, but not in regard to the same object, and without the higher illumination of their interpenetration. Melodrama cannot figure the birth of a new society – the role of comedy – but only the old society reformed. And it cannot, in distinction to tragedy, offer reconciliation under a sacred mantle, or in terms of a higher synthesis. A form for secularized times, it offers the nearest *approach* to sacred and cosmic values in a world where they no longer have any certain ontology or epistemology.⁶³⁷

The always attendant 'tragic' in Zweig's biographies – including *Balzac*, whose first chapter is entitled 'Tragödie einer Kindheit' – might lead us then to count his last great unfinished literary biography amongst the iterations of the tragic mode, 'reminding us [that] the creativity and the

⁶³⁵ Peter Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination: Balzac, Henry James, Melodrama, and the Mode of Excess* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), p. 79.

⁶³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

⁶³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

fate of these authors is a tragic-cathartic artistic endeavour'.⁶³⁸ The undeniable tragic framing of *Balzac* is qualified, however, by the mass of practical detail and anecdote, the balancing of his creativity between sheer labour and inspiration. Further, the incompleteness or incompleteability of the *Comédie Humaine* and the unfinished *Balzac* do not allow for a sense of reconciliation with which an over-refined, harmonized narrative might have concluded. If, in *Kampf mit dem Dämon*, the deaths of Hölderlin, Kleist and Nietzsche are ultimately the consummations, in other words the completion ('Vollendung'), of their creativity, the logic of *Balzac*, albeit informed by notions of the tragic, is towards incompleteness. That Zweig has to negotiate a logic of realism, the minutiae of events, alongside a narrative of individual creativity, or what might be called the integration of both the detritus of existence and the 'detritus of hermeneutic psychology',⁶³⁹ relativizes the tragic in *Balzac* and pushes us to consider an unfamiliar lack of 'reconciliation under a sacred mantle'.

In the process of writing *Balzac*, in the archival documents, Zweig negotiates the impulses towards tragification and towards banality, between higher orders of meaning and human experience, between inspiration and labour, between history as a product of the individual and the individual as the product of history, between the elevation and questioning of genius. All this is manifested in the detail and excision of detail in the process of writing and re-writing. The incompleteness of the process of 'narrativer Harmonisierung' inevitably leaves *Balzac* a more open interpretive proposition, an openness inherent in the notion of the Balzacian, which Zweig had absorbed on a material level, and which he in part empathetically enacts in the biography.

⁶³⁸ Bernhard Greiner, 'At Kithaeron Mountain: Stefan Zweig's approach to the Daemonic' in Gelber, ed., *Stefan Zweig Reconsidered*, p. 148.

⁶³⁹ Adorno, 'The Essay as Form', p. 154.

18 The Drafts

18.1 The Archive and Richard Friedenthal

The Stefan Zweig Archive at the Daniel A. Reed Library at the State University of New York at Fredonia keeps an extensive collection of both personal and literary material, donated initially by Friderike Zweig and supplemented by a succession of donors including the current heirs.⁶⁴⁰ Thirty folders comprise the archive of the *Balzac* biography, including over 2000 pages of first, second and final drafts in manuscript, print and facsimile forms, three notebooks, an alphabetically organized ring-binder of condensed notes, and innumerable loose sheets of notes, a miscellany of library tickets and other scraps of annotated paper. The material does not reflect the whole of what the editor Richard Friedenthal worked with in the 1940s. Friedenthal's afterword mentions masses of material, including the heavily annotated edition of the *Comédie Humaine* which has not surfaced since.⁶⁴¹ Beck's afterword to the collected works edition suggests that Zweig himself thought he left behind 600 pages of German manuscript, 2000 pages of notes and 40 notebooks.⁶⁴² The archive only has 68 pages of continuous text in manuscript.

At the front of advanced proofs of chapters one to five of *Balzac* lies a note entitled 'Remarks of the Editor', signed by Richard Friedenthal. The note reads:

The Manuscript is the copy Stefan Zweig left in his home at Bath, before he went to America. One of the three volumes was marked "To be sent to the publisher". The marginal notes in pencil are mostly by Mrs. Zweig, who, besides typing the manuscript from Stefan Zweig's first draft and his inserted notes, always took a very lively interest in the text.

The corrections in ink are my corrections, occasionally on pencil-marks by Zweig or Mrs. Zweig. The translations of French quotations have to the greatest part been done by the editor, unless Zweig quoted from one of the books in his library (mostly the Collected Edition of Balzac's Works, Leipzig, Insel-Verlag).

⁶⁴⁰ See *The Inventory of the Stefan Zweig Collection* (Fredonia: 1993)
<<https://fredonia.libguides.com/archives/zweig>>

⁶⁴¹ Friedenthal, p. 538.

⁶⁴² Beck, 'Nachbemerkung', BZ, p. 568.

Zweig's note-books and other material in manuscript preserved here have also been compared.

The first Book forms about one third of the whole manuscript.⁶⁴³

Friedenthal's remarks are a good basis from which to consider the material. The first book, as he calls it, was complete as far as Zweig was concerned and this section formed a third of the manuscript. The contents of the published *Balzac* shows that the first book amounts to six of twenty-six chapters. The first book is therefore somewhat inflated in its complete state, and more so because the later chapters did not receive proportional additions. The role of Lotte Zweig is carefully expressed so as not to overstate her influence, since a 'lively interest' does not necessarily suggest a major corrective input. Friedenthal's own corrections are not quantified and he subordinates his edits below those of author and wife. There is not a lot of 'ink' to be found throughout these early chapters. At least for this first book, Friedenthal shows that little has been changed from the version Zweig deemed ready for publishing. Indeed, in the afterword, Friedenthal notes, 'Das Buch war fertig – nicht in allen Kapiteln, und nicht immer in der endgültigen Fassung, aber doch in allen wesentlichen Teilen'.⁶⁴⁴ Editorial decisions were based on the notes towards corrections indicated by Lotte and Stefan Zweig and Friedenthal also writes that 'Skizzen zu einer Nachtragskapitel' were 'zu fragmentarisch für eine Veröffentlichung'.⁶⁴⁵ Minor though these changes are, coupled with the fact that '[d]ie letzten Kapitel, die nur im Rohentwurf vorlagen, habe ich umgeschrieben',⁶⁴⁶ they show the editor's focus on the later chapters of the biography and he does therefore effect some kind of change.

As far as the first book of the biography is concerned, the archive contains a typescript version of what Zweig calls the 'erste Fassung' as well as the beginning of the handwritten 'zweite Fassung', also called the 'erste komplette Fassung'. Only the first four chapters of the 'zweite Fassung' are to be found in manuscript. The 'erste Fassung', however, exists for the whole biography and can therefore provide an insight into Zweig's re-writing procedure.

It is possible to pin down part of the timeline of writing through his letters, diaries and notes. If February 1939 was when Zweig conceived his project in that letter to Rolland, the note in his calendar on the 13 March – 'Balzac angefangen'⁶⁴⁷ – must refer to a period of research

⁶⁴³ Stefan Zweig Archive, Daniel A. Reed Library at the State University of New York at Fredonia, item G23, folder 14. From here on all material from the Fredonia archive will be referenced by item code and folder number (and number within folder if applicable).

⁶⁴⁴ Friedenthal, p. 538.

⁶⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 537.

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 539.

⁶⁴⁷ Fredonia, S3, no. 4.

rather than a first draft. Four tickets from the British Museum library on 8 and 9 August of the same year show Zweig reading Bettelheim's biography of Balzac, Paul Jarry's *Le Dernier Logis de Balzac*, and Balzac's own *Pensées et Maximes*. Zweig owned the complete works of Balzac and presumably a copy of the letters to Madame Hanska, so frequently cited in his notes and the final work. Only the manuscript 'zweite Fassung' is dated and shows Zweig writing from the 15th November to the 16th December 1939. It is feasible that the first version was written between August and November but it is also possible that the first version was begun months earlier with research happening in parallel. What is not completely certain is how much of the biography was drafted in the first writing period. It was not the whole life, as Zweig's research trip to Paris in April 1940 was necessary to inform the writing of Balzac's last years. A notebook in the archive is marked at the front 'Paris 1940' and contains notes on the protagonist's life between 1846 and 1848.⁶⁴⁸

However, the trip to Paris came only two months before Zweig's departure to New York, at which point work on the biography stopped and the notes were left behind. The later years are the least expanded chapters and what is presented in the last chapters of the biography is still mostly words drafted by Zweig, but Friedenthal explicitly attests to his work on these last chapters. Despite attempts by Lotte to have the Balzac manuscript sent to Brazil along with other notes typed in 1941, Zweig laments the delay and writes to Franz and Alma Werfel in 1941, claiming *Balzac* had become 'unmöglich, weil alle Vorarbeiten drüben liegen'.⁶⁴⁹ Beck suggests the package with the manuscript arrived a week after Zweig's death. The archive shows some notes were never received. On the front of a typed version of his notes from the 1940 Paris notebook, there is a letter addressed to Lotte's sister-in-law from the publishers Cassel and Company dated 25 June 1942, four months after Zweig's death: 'I think you wanted me to send this to Stefan but it was returned by the dead letter office'.⁶⁵⁰

All this shows that - in spite of all his traveling, his move to Bath, his second marriage, the impacts of the deaths of Ernst Toller, Joseph Roth and Sigmund Freud, the declaration of war and becoming an enemy alien – in the period from March 1939 to June 1940, Zweig produced all the work towards his 'big Balzac'. What Zweig variously called 'nur ein rough draft'⁶⁵¹ and 'le squelette du grand livre que j'aurais écrit si la guerre ne me l'avait pas

⁶⁴⁸ Fredonia, G23, folder 1.

⁶⁴⁹ Zweig to Franz and Alma Werfel, 20 October 1941: B IV, p. 325.

⁶⁵⁰ Fredonia, G23, folder 5.

⁶⁵¹ Zweig to Ben Huebsch, 16 October 1941: B IV, p. 322.

défendu',⁶⁵² was rather a near complete work. Whether this was to be the first of two volumes as originally planned is also unclear.

As far as Zweig's process is concerned, Friedenthal does not have the space to elaborate on the 'precise philology' but does make the connection between subject and biographer and their processes of incompleteness: 'Aber wie mit der Arbeit des Meisters selber, wie mit der 'Comédie humaine', ging es auch mit dieser Darstellung: sie war nicht abzuschließen'. The editor goes further:

Etwas von der Balzac'schen Unrast schien aus dem Werk und den Dokumenten in den Biographen gefahren zu sein [...] Das schon Geschriebene wurde ständig umgearbeitet. Zweig besaß in seiner schönen Sammlung von „Werkschriften“ großer Meister auch einen der kostbaren Manuskriptbände Balzacs mit den eingeklebten unübersehbaren Korrekturfahnen. Und diese verwühlten, nicht endenwollenden Korrekturen strahlten eine geheimnisvolle Suggestion aus. Sie infizierten das Manuskript des Biographen. Um den eigentlichen Kern herum, der immer wieder abgeschrieben werden mußte von seiner unermüdlichen Frau und Mitarbeiterin, häuften sich die Einlagen. Sonderhefte und Notizbücher entstanden. Kataloge und Tabellen wurden angelegt. Die Balzac-Ausgaben und Monographien füllten sich mit Anstreichungen, Randbemerkungen, Zetteln und Hinweisen. Das kleine Arbeitszimmer in Stefan Zweigs Hause in Bath, das er kurz vor Kriegsausbruch bezogen hatte, wurde zu einem Balzac-Museum, einem Balzac-Archiv, einer Balzac-Kanzlei.⁶⁵³

Friedenthal portrays a range of similarities between the two authors, namely the manner of restless productivity, the endless process of rewriting and revision, and, finally, the devotion to the world of his subject. The manuscripts in the Zweig collection are assumed to have exerted a direct influence on more than just the approach and mindset of the biographer, but also on Zweig's actual work and process. Despite the importance of the material, processual aspect of the manuscript collection to Zweig, very little research has been done on the confluences between the collector's experience of manuscripts acquired and those he produced, beyond the cursory reference to the fact that some manuscripts led to biographies.

⁶⁵² Zweig to Victor Wittkowski, 22 February 1942: B IV, p. 343.

⁶⁵³ Friedenthal, p. 537-38.

While it is undeniable that the mass of notes, papers, deletions and annotations in the manuscript of Zweig's *Balzac* have a visible similarity to Balzac's corrected proofs, Friedenthal makes the comparison almost too perfect. The editor vividly extends the textual chaos within the manuscript by incorporating a description of the *physical* disorder and mess inside the manuscript:

Zu zwei Malen wurde mir das Handexemplar, an dem ich arbeite, buchstäblich aus der Hand gerissen und durch das Zimmer geworfen. Die Decke kam herunter und begrub die Notizen; noch heute hängen da und dort kleine Reste von Glassplittern und Mörtelstaub zwischen den Seiten.⁶⁵⁴

This description of a during- and Post-blitz manuscript quite literally 'incorporates the debris of a genesis',⁶⁵⁵ as one genetic critic puts it elsewhere. Friedenthal focuses on the constant movement and proliferation of matter in the process of the work, allowing it to share the indeterminate and unending quality generally attributed to Balzac's corrected proofs. The empathetic approach of the biographer, at least when it comes to the example of Balzac, is all-consuming. Material, processual, literary resonances between biographer and subject abound, leading to the suggestion that precisely such total abundance carried within it the impossibility of the project, 'etwas Überbordendes, kaum Bewältigbares für Stefan Zweig'.⁶⁵⁶

18.2 Methodology

The following interpretation of draft revisions cannot take the form of a complete genetic critical analysis described by de Biasi fundamentally as 'une épistémologie historique et peut-être materialiste de l'écriture littéraire'.⁶⁵⁷ The partial, albeit extensive, extant material and the limited time spent in the archive preclude an end-to-end analysis. However, the focus on structural and textual variation between the first draft and the final version will provide insights into the rhetorical strategies employed at the second stage of writing. Comments will focus on interpreting the differences between versions, as opposed to speculating on any intentions *per se*, although an element of intention will inevitably be suggested from any conclusions drawn

⁶⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 540.

⁶⁵⁵ Claude Duchet, 'Notes inachevées sur l'inachèvement', in *Leçons d'écriture: Ce que disent les manuscrits*, ed. by Almuth Grésillon and Michaël Werner (Paris: Minard, 1985), 241-255 (p.245).

⁶⁵⁶ Huemer, 'Stefan Zweig als Biograph von Balzac', p. 81.

⁶⁵⁷ De Biasi, p. 183.

on textual changes. Bushell's description of what she terms 'compositional study' is a useful frame for my analysis:

The relationship between textual and literary criticism in the study of compositional material can perhaps best be seen as a continuum with, at one extreme, controlled 'textual' tasks (such as decisions about the spelling and presentation of words on the page) and at the other the highly subjective interpretation of a literary text in terms of its content. Between these two positions a range of activities occur which involve varying degrees of critical intelligence and judgment, and in which the two areas frequently overlap [...] compositional study could potentially range across the whole continuum, or may involve engagement at a particular point.⁶⁵⁸

That is to say, close analysis of variation between versions will be conducted with a range of potential critical activities in mind. This is short of a methodology but still a framework for understanding the critical operation.

Finally, a core principle of interpretive openness based on the inherent possibility of excess text and multiple directions should be reiterated. This is, again, limited in our case, as this is effectively a study of two versions but the analysis will aim to complicate interpretations of the final text through the draft documents. In other words, as far as possible, teleological reduction will be guarded against and eventual textual states will be understood in their context of potential variation, rather than their inherent teleological intention.⁶⁵⁹ Put another way, Zweig (and Friedenthal) undoubtedly shaped the biography to result in the final printed text, however, this analysis is also interested in the broadest compositional context of that text; it is concerned as much with what is left out, what else was conceived, and where else it could have gone. *Balzac* was unfinished and potentially unfinishable. To return critical focus to composition is to deny *all* texts a sense of finality. If Balzac's poetics of incompleteness infected Zweig's approach so fundamentally, then Zweig's own interminable process demands exploration.

18.3 Interpretation of Revisions

In practical terms, the first draft ('erste Fassung') should be considered a skeleton – even if it is fully articulated text – since the operation behind Zweig's second draft was always to expand,

⁶⁵⁸ Sally Bushell, 'Intention Revisited: Towards an Anglo-American "Genetic Criticism"', *Text*, 17 (2005), 55-91 (p. 83).

⁶⁵⁹ De Biasi, p. 185.

to add rhetorical flesh to the bones. Whether paragraph beginnings and endings were polished, or long sections were inserted into chapters, the second draft inflated the first draft. That the first draft is often extensively formed does nevertheless a study of the changes between drafts, even if the transformation was always built into the process. Thus, the first draft should be considered the first articulation of Zweig's ideas, even if it was written to be rewritten. The existence of this early draft only makes Zweig's stylistic tendencies clearer by showing the author's conscious rhetorical decisions, which would not have appeared as clearly in isolation.

Beginnings: 'Eine tragische Kindheit', or 'Tragödie einer Kindheit'?

Having re-worked the first "book" of the biography (the first six chapters) to the point of completion, Zweig incorporates major structural changes between drafts and minor adjustments in articulation. Tense is carefully manipulated between drafts and this is something that exercises not only the biographer but also the editor Richard Friedenthal. The very first lines highlight this change, as they are rewritten in the second draft. The first draft begins:

Es war die Genieleistung Balzacs – ewiges Vorrecht des Künstlers – seine Träume in eine absolute Wahrheit zu verwandeln. Seine dämonische Phantasie verwandelt Tatsachen und Fakten gemäß seinem Willen.⁶⁶⁰

The first draft, especially at the beginnings and ends of chapters, includes text that functions as a placeholder before significant rhetorical expansion. Here, meaning is substantially affected by tense, resulting in a different reading experience between first and second drafts. In this opening, Zweig employs an active construction in the simple past: 'es war [...]'. Immediately, there is distance between narrative voice and subject and Balzac begins as a historical figure. The second draft adds a different opening:

Ein Mann von dem Genie Balzacs, der kraft einer überschwenglichen Phantasie einem vollkommenen zweiten Kosmos neben den irdischen zu stellen vermag, wird nur selten fähig sein, bei belanglosen Episoden seiner privaten Existenz sich immer streng an die nüchterne Wahrheit zu halten [...] (BZ, p. 9)⁶⁶¹

⁶⁶⁰ Fredonia, G23, folder 7, chapter 1, page a.

⁶⁶¹ All passages quoted from the second draft will reference the published text, unless the second draft differs significantly from the published version. In that case, references will be to 'Fredonia, folder 6'.

The opening is now in the future tense ('wird [...] fähig sein'), which works alongside a continuous historic present, situating the reader in the same period as the subject, with a vision of the life to come. The continuous present is a much-used tense in the biographical genre:

The biographer goes back to the beginning to create an ongoing story which gives a sense of the lived-through 'present' of the subject as the narrative rolls forward through events *then* unforeseen by the subject but *now* known to the biographer.

In this sense, the biographer is writing back to the future.⁶⁶²

Natural to the empathetic biographical mode, the lived-through present also works to mask hindsight, or rather to re-present judgements based on hindsight as evident at the time. If the first draft writes from a position of hindsight to reflect on the hard won, critically affirmed genius of the protagonist, the second draft flattens the temporality to present that genius as innate from the beginning. Both versions apply hindsight but the second draft carries much weaker implications of development towards genius. Since the narrative is situated temporally alongside the subject, knowledge from hindsight evaporates into the given conditions of the subject and his context.

The opening from the first draft introduces the idea that Balzac's fantasy played a part in adding the 'de' to his surname: 'So hat Balzac sich selbst und der Nachwelt schon die allererste Tatsache seiner irdischen Existenz verändert, indem er sich Honoré "de" Balzac nennt'.⁶⁶³ The final clause may be expressed in the present but it is preceded again by a statement in the past tense. This is modified in the second draft:

Eines Tages, etwa in seinem dreißigsten Jahr, entdeckt Balzac der Welt, dass er nicht Honoré Balzac, sondern Honoré *de* Balzac heiße, und mehr noch, er behauptet, nach Fug und Recht von je zur Führung dieser Adelspartikel befugt gewesen zu sein. (BZ, p. 9)

The historic present tense reigns here and it works to reanimate Balzac's actions. It emphasizes the resonance of Balzac's activity rather than consigning it to the past. While the present tense also dominates the first draft, it is evidently not as comprehensively integrated as part of a wider rhetorical strategy as it is in the second.

One indication of the importance of tense to the style of this biography is in Friedenthal's instinctive revisions. Reading the first book of the biography, Friedenthal begins

⁶⁶² Benton, ebook without page numbers, chapter 'Framing a Poetics of Literary Biography'.

⁶⁶³ Fredonia: G23, folder 7, chapter 1, page a.

by re-conjugating many of the present tense verbs into the simple past, before stopping only two pages in. It took the editor a page to warm to the style of the biography, giving up his temporal revisions. Friedenthal writes, 'es versteht sich von selbst, dass ich Stil und Ton des Werkes völlig unangetastet ließ'.⁶⁶⁴ In the passage, Zweig glosses the history of Balzac's father, whose surname was originally Balssa. Friedenthal's deletions are shown below; his additions are in square brackets:

Denn Balssa, nicht Balzac und gar nicht de Balzac lautet der richtige Familienname seiner proletarischen Ahnen; sie ~~besitzen~~ [besaßen] keine Schlösser und ~~führen~~ [führten] keinerlei Wappenschild, das der dichterische Nachfahr an die Karosse malen kann; sie ~~reiten~~ [ritten] nicht aus in blindem Harnisch und fechten keine romantischen Turniere, sondern sie ~~treiben~~ [trieben] tagtäglich die Kühe zur Tränke und ~~roden~~ [rodeten] im harten Schweiß die Erde des Languedoc. In einer armseligen Steinhütte des Weilers La Nougayrié bei Cannezac ~~ist~~ [wurde] Balzacs Vater, Bernard-François, als einer der vielen dort ansässigen Balssas am 22. Juni 1746 geboren.⁶⁶⁵

The editor leaves no ambiguity about his views on the historic present in this passage, yet there are no more such corrections and even these corrections do not make it into the final copy, as the editor relinquishes his corrective mandate in favour of the author's 'Stil und Ton'.

The end of the paragraph notes the distance Balzac needed from his original family name due to a charge of murder against his uncle. Zweig's first draft is expressed in the past:

vielleicht war das Bedürfnis, sich von diesem anrühigen Onkel möglichst zu distanzieren, der erste Anstoß, dass sich Honoré de Balzac einen eigenen Stammbaum und eine andere Herkunft erfand.⁶⁶⁶

This is revised:

Vielleicht bot gerade das Verlangen, sich weitmöglichst von diesem anrühigen Vatersbruder zu distanzieren, Balzac den ersten Anstoß, sich zu nobilitieren und sich eine andere Herkunft zu erfinden. (BZ, p. 11)

The use of an infinitive construction in the last clause draws attention to the *process* of Balzac's self-invention, one that the reader is about to experience, in contrast to the distance explicit in

⁶⁶⁴ Friedenthal, p. 539.

⁶⁶⁵ Fredonia, G23, folder 14, chapter 1, p. 14.

⁶⁶⁶ Fredonia, G23, folder 7, chapter 1, page c.

the preterit formulation in the first draft. The shift changes the function of the word 'vielleicht'. In the past tense formulation, 'vielleicht' shows an *interpretation* of the reason Balzac sought to change his name. It is speculative and contains the possibility that it is not true. In the second draft, 'vielleicht' is less precarious, as the narrative is released from the verification of hindsight. This 'vielleicht' is charged more with a possibility to be retained in the background of our maturing protagonist.

Grammatical tense, specifically the insistence on the historic present, becomes an important decision for Zweig. The present tense in the first chapter situates the reader in the present of the protagonist and brings temporal aspects of the *novel* to the literary life. If 'the novelist *constructs* a narrative of imagined events [and] the biographer and historian aim to *reconstruct* a narrative from real life past events',⁶⁶⁷ the *Lebensroman* positions itself closer to the *construction* of events, the lived-through present, and collapses, at least rhetorically, the historical distance between reader and subject. To what extent does a proximity to the subject and present tense construction inhibit the biography from getting outside of the protagonist's mind and outside of the world, which requires objective distance for a suitably reflective and manifold representation?

Alongside temporal considerations, exaggeration is an idea that recurs in many ways throughout the revision process. Balzac's childhood had its difficulties and the biographer renders this upbringing in its most extreme interpretation. The harder the tragedy, the greater the triumph when it eventually comes. This is nothing new for Zweig, whose poetic licence, or, in Friedenthal's words, his tendency to 'sing arias', is present in all his biographical portraits. The drafts reveal how Zweig faced a figure who had his own tendency to self-mythologize, who needed no help exaggerating his lot, and Zweig's notes show a struggle between presenting Balzac's claims as exaggerated or giving the stage to his protagonist to do the exaggerative work for him without questioning its veracity. Zweig's marginal annotations in the first draft occasionally refer to exaggeration explicitly. As Zweig culminates the overview of Balzac's tragic relationship with his mother, he quotes Balzac: 'Meine Mutter ist die Ursache allen Übels in meinem Leben' (BZ, p. 18). In the first draft, Zweig simply notes 'Übertreibung' in the margin alongside the quotation. This version also embeds a hint at exaggeration in the line,

Fremde Mauern, fremde Menschen umstehen seine Kindheit, und es ist vielleicht
keine Übertreibung, wenn er dreißig Jahre später schreibt, er hatte 'die

⁶⁶⁷ Benton, ebook without page numbers, chapter 'Framing a Poetics of Literary Biography'.

grauenhafteste Kindheit erlitten, die jamais einem Menschen auf Erden
beschieden war'.⁶⁶⁸

Although the author sides with his protagonist here, he nonetheless incorporates the possibility that Balzac's self-judgements are disingenuous.

In the second draft, the childhood is made emphatically worse by the insertion of the following passage:

Kein Spiel mit den jüngeren Geschwistern ist ihm gegönnt, keine Spielzeuge und Geschenke werden erlaubt. Er kennt keine Mutter, die, wenn er krank ist, an seinem Bette wacht, nie hat er ihre Stimme ein weiches Wort sagen hören, und wenn er zärtlich andrängt an ihr Knie und wünscht, sie zu umarmen, scheucht ein strenges Wort eine solche Vertraulichkeit als unziemlich fort. Und kaum dass er die kleinen Beine richtig rühren kann, mit sieben Jahren, stößt sie den Unerwünschten in ein Internat nach Vendôme; nur weit fort soll er sein, an einem andern Ort, in einer andern Stadt. (BZ, p. 17)

This is followed by the passage showing the mother's evil. The second draft does initially act on the first draft's marginal annotation suggesting exaggeration should be mentioned at this stage and it inserts directly after the reference, 'In diesen Worten mag Übertreibung wie immer bei Balzac sein. Aber die Erbitterung die sie ahnen, ist eine aufgestaute von Jahren und Jahren'.⁶⁶⁹ The author then deletes this insertion so that the idea of exaggeration is effaced from the first chapter. In the final proofs, the debate over this passage resurfaces as Lotte Zweig comments on the same section, 'Nicht wörtlich nehmen. Balzac übertrieben'. Zweig suppresses the potential for exaggeration in his protagonist at this stage. By doing so, the eventual text protects a certain picture of Balzac that might only be contested later, once the protagonist has already become formidable. Zweig does raise Balzac's tendency to dramatize the truth later in the biography, but the text refrains from questioning the subject's own words at the beginning. The lack of a negative counterpoint to the story leaves intact an early harmonious image.

Zweig's suppression of Balzac's exaggerative capacity is tantamount to an exaggeration on Zweig's part. A feature of this style is the use of the word 'immer', which Löwenthal criticised:

Das Wörtchen 'immer', ein Favorit aus Stefan Zweigs Sprachschatz, das irgendwelchen Folgerungen aus zufälligen Befunden den Adel des Normativen

⁶⁶⁸ Fredonia, folder 7, chapter 1, page g.

⁶⁶⁹ Fredonia, folder 6, chapter 1, p. 10.

verleiht. Was war, war immer so, ist so, und so wird es bleiben – ist die Weisheit wie bei jeder generalisierenden Methode so auch ihrer populären Ableger.⁶⁷⁰

Accidental and contingent phenomena are normalized. Zweig displays this trait early in *Balzac* in the opening passage on Balzac's adoption of the *Adelspartikel*, which is accepted as pure invention by Zweig. Friedenthal makes a correction, which is again reverted to Zweig's original phrasing in the final version:

Aber behalten die Dokumente auch buchstabenmäßig recht gegen Balzac, so hat doch sein Wille – sein schöpferischer glühender Wille – glorreich recht behalten gegen die kalten Papiere; ~~immer~~ [oft] siegt trotz aller nachträglichen Berichtigungen Dichtung über die Geschichte.⁶⁷¹

Zweig holds that poetry *always* overcomes history and that Balzac's will for invention will *always* overcome any retrospective historical interpretation. The words are in many ways symbolic of the biography as a whole, and of Zweig's thoughts on biography as a genre. Poetry will win out. Friedenthal's interjection is an attempt to reframe the text historically, but the ultimate reversion to Zweig's 'poetry' appears to be a concession to the style to which he remained faithful.

Zweig describes Balzac's school life through the eyes of the autobiographical eponymous hero of *Louis Lambert*. Balzac's boarding school in Vendôme is initially given a prosaic description in Zweig's first draft, where the institution had the high towers and high walls of 'einen düsteren Komplex, der nebst den Schulräumen noch eine Kapelle, ein Theater, ein Lazarett, eine Bäckerei, einen Garten umschließt'.⁶⁷² This is deleted in the second version with the quotations from the novel *Louis Lambert* increased. Replacing historical description with fiction, shifts the narrative away from real detail. No more is the school a plain inventory of information, rather its atmosphere and effects on the protagonist are the focus.

The narrative is also extended and Zweig inserts a new paragraph that defends Balzac's slowness and unresponsiveness in lessons:

Unbewußt spüren die Lehrer in diesem Knaben einen Widerstand; sie merken nicht, daß etwas Außerordentliches in ihm wirkt, sondern nur, daß er nicht ordentlich, nicht im normalen Sinne liest und lernt. Sie halten ihn für stumpf oder

⁶⁷⁰ Löwenthal, p. 367.

⁶⁷¹ Fredonia, folder 14, chapter 1, p. 4.

⁶⁷² Fredonia, folder 7, chapter 1, page h.

träge, für störrisch oder verträumt, weil er nicht den gleichen Trott einhält mit den andern – bald hinter ihnen zurück, bald mit einem Sprung ihnen voraus. Jedenfalls fällt auf keinen die Fuchtel härter als auf ihn. Unablässig wird er bestraft. Für ihn gibt es nicht die Muße der Erholungsstunden, er wird mit einem Strafpensum nach dem andern bedacht, wird so oft in den Karzer gesteckt, daß ihm einmal innerhalb zweier Jahre keine ganzen sechs freien Tage bleiben. Öfter und grausamer muss dieser größte Genius seiner Zeit die ultima ratio der strengen Padres erfahren, die körperliche Züchtigung. (BZ, 21-22)

The first draft has: 'Von Anfang an gilt Balzac als ein fauler und gleichgültiger unter den Schülern, unablässig gerüffelt, unablässig bestraft, weil im tiefsten verkannt'.⁶⁷³ The impression here is then of a Balzac who appeared lazy and indifferent. The second draft recasts Balzac's slow start as a form of *resistance*. He shifts from being merely misjudged by his teachers and peers to resisting the conventions of Catholic education. The expansion of the paragraph intensifies the mistreatment of the central character to draw the lines of conflict that Balzac will overcome. Balzac becomes the student who is treated by far the worst, 'Jedenfalls fällt *auf keinen* die Fuchtel härter als auf ihn'. 'Immer' is present in the synonym 'unablässig' and the punishment thus becomes relentless and everyday. He has no recreation, is always in detention and at the mercy of the 'strengen Padres', which is an expression introduced in the second draft, substituting 'Lehrer'.

With the tragic element enhanced, the passage is bookended with that notion of resistance evoked at the start. Resistance is inherent in the shift from Balzac as Balzac in the first draft, to Balzac as 'dieser größte Genius seiner Zeit' in the second. Balzac's portrayal as a born genius undercuts the opinion of his schoolmasters and shapes the conflict between the man of unparalleled talent and a suspicious world. There is no doubt Balzac was well-informed and at the beginning of his creative path even in these early years, producing the *Traité de la Volonté* that is described in *Louis Lambert*. Yet, the label of genius jars, conflating a mature Balzac with his younger self. The present tense keeps the reader in the world of the young Balzac while a fully-formed genius Balzac periodically takes the place of the developing Balzac. The sense of development is counteracted at every turn by the uncontested knowledge and interpretation of the final portrait. In contrast, Robb suggests that Vendôme 'was the historic institution from which Balzac would emerge in the spring of 1813, not clad in the bright wings of genius, but more a chrysalis than before – pale and scrawny, dazed with indiscriminate reading, unable to

⁶⁷³ Fredonia, folder 7, chapter 1, page j.

communicate and living with alarming ease in his private world, with no outward sign of any adult personality'.⁶⁷⁴ Robb identifies the abilities of the young Balzac and refers to the writer's future prodigality without ignoring his mediocrity in the early years. Zweig's narrative does not allow for the contemplation of an alternative path for the protagonist. The insistence on genius then sits awkwardly with the grammatical present tense. If the historic present reanimates the life of the hero and creates a novelistic dynamism dependent on the possibility and potentiality of the future, the insistence on genius from the very beginning already restricts that potential and rather leads us through paradigms of the same life and the same conflict lived repeatedly at different ages.

The end of the first chapter is extended in the second draft to give a distinctly different emphasis from the first. Having left school, Balzac is found a job at a clerk's office by his father. The first draft reads:

Aber nach achtzehn Monaten schon wird er, noch ehe er seine Rechtstudien beendet hat, genötigt, die Stelle mit einer anderen zu vertauschen bei einem Notar Passez, der im selben Hause wie die Familie lebt. Und so wird er zwanzig Jahre alt und hat noch keinen freien Tag gehabt und vielleicht noch keinen glücklichen.⁶⁷⁵

The text is deliberately left in need of expansion. Zweig's revision, however, changes the timeframe and incorporates more of the life so that we see the ambition beyond the conventional career and good family – the 'Musterbeispiel einer gutbürgerlichen, normalen Karriere':

Da schlägt endlich die seit Jahren niedergehaltene und erstickte Flamme der Revolte in Balzac hoch; im Frühjahr 1819 springt er eines Tages plötzlich vom Schreibblock des Notars und lässt die angefangenen staubigen Akten liegen. Er hat genug für immer von dieser Existenz, die ihm noch keinen freien und glücklichen Tag geschenkt. Entschlossen reckt er – zum erstenmal – gegen die Familie den Nacken hoch und erklärt unvermittelt, er wolle kein Advokat, kein Notar, kein Richter, kein Beamter werden. Er wolle überhaupt keinen bürgerlichen Beruf! Er sei entschlossen, ein Schriftsteller zu werden und durch seine künftigen Meisterwerke unabhängig, reich und berühmt. (BZ, p. 32-33)

⁶⁷⁴ Robb, p. 13.

⁶⁷⁵ Fredonia, Folder 7, page o.

The first draft leaves the protagonist unclear of the future due to his lack of freedom in a job he has had little choice in taking. This final impression is reversed through the revision. A triumphant, defiant note takes over. The second draft shows the words 'Entschlossen', 'unvermittelt' and 'überhaupt' were additions and they qualify Balzac's actions with determination and assertiveness – something lacking in the life that was forced on him as a passive recipient in the original rendering. In many ways, the point at which the first draft stopped may be more faithful to the present tense narration. Balzac has negotiated his education and is stuck in his first employment with only a faint glimmer of a different life. The revised ending jumps further forward in time and reinforces the idea that Balzac was, if not destined to become a great writer, then unstoppable in his ambition to become one. The transitions from chapter to chapter throughout the first half of the biography reflect the author's intentions to portray a consistent manifestation of greatness. In the examples from the first chapter, the revisions between certainly reveal the adaptation of a slow, indifferent student and passive trainee lawyer, into an assertive writer destined for greatness.

Expansion and Transition: Shaping *Balzac*

The first draft was written with its subsequent rhetorical expansion in mind and those expansions often drastically adapt the portrayal of the protagonist. By analysing long expansions and the transitions between chapters, which are always re-written, what is gained or lost in creative process becomes clearer.

The eighth chapter, 'Balzac außen und innen', depicts Balzac's working process and is the clearest example of where Zweig doubled his text between drafts. Balzac's failure in the 'Außenwelt' is due to his pathetic 'Aristokratomanie', his persistent search for fame. As Bondy notes, Zweig does communicate the absurdity of Balzac's social immaturity and the biographer is unflinching in his appraisal of his subject's appearances in high society. The external world is illustrated in contrast to the reclusive inner world of the creator. This is Balzac's true 'centre': 'Balzac mußte in der Öffentlichkeit exzentrisch wirken, weil er im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes aus seinem Zentrum getreten ist, sobald er sein Zimmer, seinen Schreibtisch, seine Arbeit verläßt' (BZ, p. 178). Both first and second draft emphasize this contrast through the image of Balzac as a prisoner to his work, confined in the study, devoted to working 'zu Tode'. The second draft adds a qualification:

Nicht in der alltäglichen Welt, sondern in der eigenen und selbstgeschaffenen ist seine wahre Existenz; den wirklichen Balzac hat niemand gekannt, beobachtet, belauscht als die vier Wände seines Arbeitskerkers. Seine wahre Biographie konnte kein Zeitgenosse schreiben; seine Werke haben es für ihn getan. (BZ, p. 179)

The central figure is further extricated from his social coordinates, suggesting that his true existence was self-invented. While the self-isolation might give credence to the idea that no one truly knew the man, the location of that true identity in his works is also a reductive solution: 'Inferences drawn from the works are *about the works*. Literary biographers lured into accepting them as historical facts are deceiving themselves into writing another form of fiction'.⁶⁷⁶ However, it is not the 'Werk' that Zweig describes in the following pages but the 'Arbeit'. The counterpoint of Parisian society intensifies the isolation of the writer's 'Gefängniszelle' and prepares the ground for a concentrated, individual description of the creative process, the most detailed of all of Zweig's attempts to capture the secret of artistic creation.

Zweig builds the suspense towards the writing scene by counting down the clock to Balzac's inverted working day starting at midnight, but also by detailing the material necessary to a successful night's writing: his monk's robe, his desk and coffee. While the protagonist is in complete isolation, his reliance on such things emphasizes the physical act of writing that balances the aspect of daemonic will. On the one hand, the fascination with the creative process is related to the exceptionality of the genius and, on the other, it is borne of the physical working of the writer as mortal. Where in the first draft the physicality of the process is just hinted at, it is expanded in the second draft, escalating the bodily damage. The first draft is followed by the expansion in the second draft below:

Manchmal droht die Maschine zu stocken. Der Arm wird müde, der Rücken schmerzt, das Auge sieht nicht mehr klar [...]⁶⁷⁷

Manchmal droht die Maschine zu stocken. Auch der maßloseste Wille vermag nichts gegen das natürliche Maß der Kräfte. Nach vier, nach sechs Stunden ununterbrochenen Schreibens und Schaffens spürt Balzac, daß er nicht weiterkann. Die Hand erlahmt, die Augen beginnen zu tränen, der Rücken schmerzt, das Blut pocht drohend an die überhitzten Schläfen, die Spannung in den Nerven [...] (BZ, 184-85)

⁶⁷⁶ Benton, ebook without page numbers, chapter 'The Author's Works (1): Signs of Life?'

⁶⁷⁷ Fredonia, folder 8, chapter 8, page e.

What is first described as fatigue, dizziness, back pain, becomes paralysis, tears, and bloodiness. The description of vulnerability is a welcome check against the paeans to genius and an explanation for the favourable reaction to this chapter by Böttcher. In contrast to the very beginning, where it is established that ‘immer siegt [...] Dichtung über die Geschichte’ (BZ, p. 10), or ‘bei Balzac ist die Phantasie tausendfach starker als die Realität’ (BZ, p. 40), the chapter on creative process shows that ‘der maßloseste Wille vermag nichts gegen das natürliche Maß der Kräfte’. In the revising and expanding of this section, that reads as an unstoppable proliferation of text, Zweig enacts Balzac’s ceaseless production in the writing scene. The line, ‘Balzac schreibt und schreibt und schreibt, ohne Pause, ohne Stocken’, also fits the biographer’s approach, whose writing is expanded, repetitive and insistent.

In the preamble to a second writing scene, the scene of correcting, Zweig expands on the original articulation of Balzac’s correcting phase: ‘Aber es ist keine leichtere Arbeit, das Lesen der Korrekturen, es ist nur eine andere’.⁶⁷⁸ This is developed in the second draft:

Aber Lesen von Korrekturen ist nicht wie für die meisten der anderen Autoren die leichtere Arbeit, nicht nur ein Nachbessern und Nachfeilen, sondern ein völliges Umschaffen und Neuschaffen. Korrekturen lesen oder vielmehr sie umschreiben bedeutet bei ihm einen ebenso entscheidenden Schöpfungsakt, wie es der primäre war [...]. (BZ, p. 189)

Again, the second draft goes further than the first, bringing with it a different argument. Correction is recast as re-writing and eventually as a second act of creation. This statement speaks more to a theoretical interpretation of the Balzacian process and less to the physical process of writing, which has been the concern so far and which remains the concern in the first draft. Consistent between the drafts is the display of the correction process as a simultaneous destruction of text: ‘Noch einmal reißt er das ganze mühsame Gefüge auf, noch einmal übersät und bekleckst er das Blatt von oben bis unten, um das neue genauso unleserlich und chaotisch zurücksenden wie das alte’ (BZ, p. 191). Both conclude this paragraph with the vantage on a whole oeuvre that should be shown to consist not of books written once but of those written ten times, and that this is how the immense achievement should be framed. The first draft continues to present the day’s work and continues to sketch out the routine timetable of activity. The revisions supplement that prosaic description with a section on the actual proofs, rather than the process of producing them:

⁶⁷⁸ Fredonia, folder 8, chapter 8, page g.

Und weil nur er die ganze phantastische Summe von Energie, Aufopferung, Vollendungsbesessenheit kennt, weil dieser fünfmalige, zehnmalige Umbildungsprozess sich im Dunkel des Laboratoriums vollzieht, unbekannt allen, die nur das fertige Produkt sehen, darum liebt er diese Korrekturfahren als einzig treuen und verlässlichen Zeugen. Sie sind sein Stolz, der Stolz nicht so sehr des Künstlers in ihm als des Arbeitsmenschen, des unermüdlichen Handwerkers, und von jedem Werke stellt er darum ein Exemplar dieser revidierten, zerarbeiteten Blätter zusammen, den ersten Zustand, den zweiten, den dritten bis zum letzten, und lässt sie mit dem Manuskript je in einem massiven Band binden (der dann oft etwa zweitausend Seiten umfasst statt der bloß zweihundert der endgültigen Ausgabe). (BZ, p. 192)

This addition ends with the words:

In der Tat, kaum in irgendwelchen Dokumenten außer den Skizzenbüchern Beethovens hat der Jakobs Kampf des Künstlers greifbarer seinen Ausdruck gefunden als in diesen Bänden. Stärker als auf jedem Porträt, eindrucksvoller als in allen Anekdoten seiner Zeitgenossen wird hier die eigentliche Urkraft Balzacs erkenntlich, die titanische Energie seiner Arbeit. Nur wer sie kennt, kennt den wirklichen Balzac. (BZ, p. 193)

What in the first draft was the immersive depiction of the writing process is expanded in the second draft to incorporate both a theoretical reflection on the process as a second writing, and, here, a focus on the actual copy of the proofs. The focus on proofs lays greater emphasis on the inherent value of the process as process, rather than direct attention solely to the perfected final copy. The biography shows how corrected proofs are the privileged site of creative revelation. The chapter devotes more space to the body of the writer for sure, but the expansion makes space for the evocation of the body of writing itself. It ultimately works to stretch the definition of artistic creativity both by interrogating the teleology of the process and by privileging the material contingencies.

The transitions between chapters play a significant expansive role in the shaping of the biographical personality, as natural stoppages, points of reflection, and critical junctures. Chapter 8 ends by relating the excessive devotion to work to a similar excess in his recreation in the outside world: 'Es ist ein Exzess, wenn Balzac ausruht vom Exzess seiner Arbeit' (BZ, p. 197). Zweig depicts Parisian society's gossiping and caricaturing of the unrefined Balzac, whom the biographer is inclined to defend. Both drafts display a defensive ridiculing of the journalistic

types that think themselves superior to Balzac, but the two endings produce different conclusions. The first draft ends:

Und dass sie hinter ihm lachen und spötteln, dass diese Habitués der Salons sich wundern, wenn ein entketteter Löwe nicht freundlich schwänzelt und tänzelt wie ein gestutzter Pudel, das ist ihm gleichgültig. Denn diese Welt, er weiss es, ist nur Schein, und er wohnt nicht in ihr; wie die Gespenster mit dem letzten Mitternachtschlag ins Dunkel der Erde, so muss er, wenn die letzte Stunde Freiheit, der letzte Franken verbraucht ist, wieder in den Kerker, zurück in seine wirkliche Welt, die einzige, in der er wahrhaft gelebt hat, die Welt, die er sich selber erschafft.⁶⁷⁹

The second draft ends:

Nur den grotesken Schatten, den im Vorübergehen seine riesige Gestalt an die Wand der Zeit wirft, können sie karikaturistisch nachzeichnen. Um sein wirkliches Wesen hat keiner der Zeitgenossen gewußt, denn wie den Gespenstern des Märchens nur für eine Stunde verstattet ist, schattenhaft über die Erde zu streifen, die ihnen nicht zugehört, so sind Balzac nur kurze Atemzüge der Freiheit vergönnt, und immer wieder muß er in den Kerker der Arbeit zurück. (BZ, p. 198)

The first draft carries through the defiance of the protagonist and the ridiculousness of the detractors themselves. With the emphasis on the defence of Balzac, the world outside becomes 'nur Schein'. The only real world is therefore the one Balzac creates himself in his study. The second draft adapts the tone of defence to a neutral acceptance that there was a mutual disconnection between Balzac and the outside world. It is no longer necessarily the malice of the journalists that precipitates the caricatures but the 'grotesque shadow' of the man they are presented with. The responsibility for dislocation has shifted to Balzac himself and society is no longer depicted as mere appearance. This is compounded by the shift between Balzac actively rejecting life in the outside world ('er wohnt nicht in ihr') to the world not being for a man like him ('die ihnen nicht zugehört'). The end of the second draft leaves the image of the prison-cell resonate and maintains a sense of necessity and dread in the writer's struggle. The lasting image of the first draft is the more triumphant return to the space in which Balzac creates (and overcomes) the world. In this way the revision acts as a moderation of the creative figure and the acceptance of Balzac's flaws and mismatch in society as equally the responsibility of the

⁶⁷⁹ Fredonia, folder 8, chapter 8, page m.

reclusive writer and not simply the ignorance of others. This subtle shift is perhaps a rare example of moderation, only accessible in the analysis of the composition.

The transitional revisions are most marked in the first book. Chapter 2, 'Verfrühte Frage an das Schicksal', covers the failed tragedy *Cromwell* and the negative reaction of his family and a professor of literature brought in to offer learned judgement on the family's investment. The ending in the first draft focuses on the failure and leaves the episode with the protagonist's dejection:

Aber inzwischen ist Balzac selbst sein eigener Richter geworden, er verwirft die Tragödie. Niemand soll sie sehen, und selbst in den Zeiten verzweifelster Geldnot, wo er jedes alte Blatt Manuskript aus seinem Schreibtisch ausmünzte, hat er niemals mehr jemandem dies erste Werk gezeigt, das die Verzweiflung, die Hoffnung, der Stolz und die tiefste Enttäuschung seiner Jugend gewesen.⁶⁸⁰

The second draft does not pause on the failure and refocuses on the destiny and determination of the genius:

Ohne zu wissen, worin sie besteht, spürt er, daß er einer besonderen Aufgabe zugeboren ist, die das volle Maß eines Menschen erfordert, und sogar ein Übermaß. So lehnt er den Kompromiß ab und besteht auf seinem Schein. Gemäß seinem Kontrakt mit dem Vater sind die zwei Versuchsjahre noch nicht abgelaufen; er hat noch mehr als ein ganzes Jahr für sich, und das will er nutzen. Ungebeugt und unerbittlich wie nach jeder der hundertfältigen Enttäuschungen seiner Existenz und noch entschlossener als vordem, sich zu „indépendiser“ (sich unabhängig zu machen) von Fron und Familie, kehrt er in die selbstgewählte Kerkerzelle der Rue Lesdignières zurück. (BZ, p. 55)

The rewriting of the opening of chapter 3 gives the complete picture of the transition. The first draft continues to depict Balzac's exasperation at the failure of his play:

Das Missgeschick des *Cromwell* ist die erste von Balzacs "Illusions Perdues". Er ist niedergestürzt wie Ikarus aus den Himmeln seiner Träume, zurückgestürzt in die Enge und Bürgerlichkeit der misstrauischen Familie. Vergebens die durchwachten Nächte, die durchfieberten Tage, vergebens die Entbehrungen der rue Lesdiguieres, das verlorene, vergeudete Jahr. 'Cromwell' ist nicht das Meisterwerk

⁶⁸⁰ Fredonia, folder 7, chapter 2, page k.

geworden, die Mutter, die unerbittliche, hat recht behalten und er selber unrecht. Nicht mehr mit erwartungsvollen Blicken sieht man nun im Hause auf den jungen Dichter, wenn er sich zurückzieht in sein Gelass, um neue Blätter und neue zu beschreiben. Als ein familiäres Missgeschick wird er betrachtet, als eine unwillkommene Last. Nicht hat den Hochmut und das laute Selbstbewusstsein dieses missglückten Kindes bekräftigt. Die Mutter erweckt die alten Erinnerungen, wie er versagte in der Schule als störrisches, unaufmerksames Kind, wie man ihn heimschickte von den Oratorianern. Ja, die Lehrer haben es richtig gesehen, wie ein unbrauchbarer Schüler hat er sich jetzt als unbegabter Dichter erwiesen. Am besten jetzt gleich gründlich Schluss machen, die Wohnung kündigen in der rue Lesdiguières, die so schlecht dem poetischen Müßiggang gedient hat, und wieder zurück zum Notar oder in einen anderen, 'anständigen' Beruf. / Jeder andere wie Balzac wäre vielleicht dem Druck erlegen. Aber ein dunkler Instinkt wehrt sich in ihm – und wird sich ewig wehren – gegen eine geregelte, geordnete Existenz. Nur sich nicht wieder einsperren lassen, festhalten, festschmieden!⁶⁸¹

The second draft does not dwell on the failure and begins the third chapter with Balzac trying to manufacture a performance of his play before coming to the realisation that it would be beneath him: 'Erledigt der Cromwell; er wird Lieber etwas Besseres schreiben'. The manuscript is thrown away defiantly and '[e]r hat zeitlebens keinen Blick mehr auf diesen ersten Irrtum seiner Jugend geworfen. Jetzt aber rasch wieder ans Werk!' (BZ, p. 56).

The first draft is a lament and the language is consistently negative through the repeated 'nicht' constructions, 'miss-' and 'un-' prefixes, and the focus on the wasted year spent in vain, that is, it is a reflection on the past. The second draft moves forward with the episode and quickly looks to adopt the positivity of potential future successes. The failure is manipulated into a condition of future success as it makes the writer more determined than ever to make himself independent from his family. Lament does not feature as his immature work is cast away as an 'Irrtum', outgrown almost as soon as it was written. The revision of this transition shows the reformulation of failure and its removal from structurally pivotal positions in the narrative. This is symbolized by the Icarus image, only apparent in the first draft, where Balzac 'ist niedergestürzt wie Ikarus aus den Himmeln seiner Träume'. This follows the the previous chapter, which is dominated by 'Verzweiflung' and 'die tiefste Enttäuschung seiner Jugend'. Balzac is depicted through a parabolic trajectory that touches the creative skies before falling to

⁶⁸¹ Fredonia, folder 7, chapter 3, page a.

the depths of defeat. This is structurally reinforced by ending and beginning chapters from that defeat before rebuilding the rise to greatness through what follows. The second draft dismantles the tragic parabolic trajectory in favour of the inherent and gradual rise to greatness that co-opts failure into a steady upward trajectory. Balzac's trajectory becomes precisely the opposite of the parabola in the rewriting, he is 'ungebeugt'.

Chapter 5 begins with a recapitulation of the previous chapter, which deals with Balzac's intimate relationship with Madame de Berny, an older woman who acts as mother-figure and lover. Again, subtle changes to the opening paragraph give greater agency to Balzac in shaping his own fate. The first draft is followed by the second below:

Der erste Wunsch Balzacs ist erfüllt. Er hat die Frau gefunden, die mütterlich liebende Freundin, die ihm selbst vertrauen und innere Unabhängigkeit schenkt: nun gilt es noch die äussere zu finden, um frei zu sein für die eigentliche Bestimmung für sein Werk.⁶⁸²

Der erste Wunsch Balzacs an das Schicksal ist erfüllt. Die Hilfe einer Liebenden, die ersehnte ist ihm gewährt, und dank dieses neuen Selbstvertrauens hat er die innere Unabhängigkeit gefunden. Nun gilt es noch die äußere zu erobern, um bereit zu sein für seine eigentliche Bestimmung: für das Werk. (BZ, p. 94)

The revision effaces the woman from scene. In the first sentence, the addition of 'an das Schicksal' suggests that his relationship is born of a dialogue with fate rather than with the woman in question, or with his society. The second sentence is rewritten and shifts the emphasis away from de Berny's agency in 'gifting' Balzac a sense of independence, to Balzac's own 'self-confidence' and 'inner independence' with 'the help of a lover', who is depersonalized. The last sentences continue with the idea of Balzac's self-assertion and present a picture of a 'conqueror' in place of a more tentative 'seeker' of the outside world on his way to creating his work.

The end of chapter 5 also shows the second draft's concentration on Balzac's agency and self-assertion. His failure as a printer is contextualized as a successful period of real-life work experience and his initiation into the real of his future realism. The first draft writes: 'Jetzt erst ist der Dichter in ihm reif, wirklich zu beginnen', while the second draft articulates it differently: 'Jetzt erst, da er in der realen Welt gescheitert ist, ist der Künstler in ihm reif, seine eigene Welt neben und über dieser andern aufzubauen' (BZ, p. 117). All tentativeness is written out of the scene so that Balzac is no longer portrayed as developing ('zu beginnen') his realist poetics but

⁶⁸² Fredonia, folder 7, chapter 5, page a.

the experience allows Balzac to now build a new world. Like the establishment of inherent genius at the beginning of the biography, this transition displays Balzac's *inherent* ability in contrast to a logic of *development*, which the first draft tends to favour.

Power and Conflict: Building Genius

The second draft often inscribes the protagonist's power in scenes that were initially neutrally articulated. Descriptions of conflict often depict that agency in starker relief. Changes between passive and active voice tend to represent a shift towards increasing the agency of the protagonist throughout the second draft. The two descriptions of Balzac's choice to dramatize *Cromwell* are shown below:

Die Arbeit hat ihn ergriffen, zum erstenmal fühlt Balzac sich vor eine Aufgabe gestellt, und noch ehe das Werk recht begonnen ist, ehe er ein Hundertstel der Arbeit getan, ehe das eigentliche Schlachtfeld betreten ist, träumt er überschwenglich schon dem künftigen Sieg entgegen. [...] Endlich sind die Würfel geworfen.⁶⁸³

Zum erstenmal hat sich Balzac eine Aufgabe gestellt und seinen unbezwinglichen Willen ins Spiel geworfen. Wo dieser Wille wirkt, gibt es keinen Widerstand. Balzac weiß, er wird *Cromwell* vollenden, weil er ihn vollenden will und weil er ihn vollenden muß. [...] Balzac wirft sich in die Arbeit mit jener monomanischen Energie [...] (BZ, pp. 45-6)

In the first instance, the *work* itself seizes Balzac and the writer feels he *has been placed* before a task. In the second, this passive sense has changed so that the writer *imposes himself* on the task. The first example employs the verb 'werfen' without a subject, positing a diffuse agent, whether fate or history. The revision employs the same verb but this time with Balzac as the subject. Balzac throws his will into the game and throws himself into his work. The shift takes external and fatalistic agency away from the scene and returns the fate of the work in the hands of the protagonist. Adding the line about the impossibility of resistance against Balzac's will compounds this feature of the revision. No longer is the inexplicable, contingent, or unpredictable to the fore in the writer's early development, rather his success is and has always been in his own hands and in his unconquerable will. Where the first draft maintains the

⁶⁸³ Fredonia, folder 7, chapter 2, page e.

precarity of undertaking a first work and its unknown outcome, the second draft denies the possibility that Balzac will not finish. This example shows the shift away from tentativeness towards the surety of will, which works against a sense of gradual development from novice to master.

Chapter 3 intensifies the struggle between Balzac and his family, as he runs out of time on his father's contract and is obliged to return home. His search for independence leads him to work in the 'Romanfabrik Horace St. Aubin & Co.', where he produces popular literature for mass market. The first draft describes the embarrassment of the return home: 'Gesenkten Haupts, gedemütigten Herzens, ein Besiegter, ein Geschlagener ist der Einundzwanzigjährige in das väterliche Haus zurückgekehrt'.⁶⁸⁴ This is deleted from the second draft and the return home is rethought:

Nur auf eine Art Erholungsurlaub geht Balzac nach Villeparisis zurück. Die Wohnung in der Rue Lesdignières hat er aufgeben müssen; jetzt zieht er sich in das ehemalige Zimmer seiner Schwester Laure zurück, das durch die Heirat frei geworden ist. Er ist fest entschlossen, bald durch unerbittlichen Eifer ein anderes pied-à-terre (eine andere Nebenwohnung) aus eigenem Gelde zu erarbeiten. (BZ, pp. 61-2)

Any sense of embarrassment has been excised and the obligation is re-interpreted as a stop-gap through the determination in an as yet unknown future success that will enable his independence. The defeatedness of Balzac from the first draft is nowhere to be found, as the protagonist is described instead as 'fest entschlossen'.

The episode continues to reflect the reaction of the parents to his new profession. The first draft offers a view of a welcoming family that begins to show pride in their son who has applied himself in a successful manner:

Mit freundlicheren Augen sehen die Eltern dem neuen Beginnen zu. Ganz vernünftig ist er zwar noch nicht geworden. Aber vielleicht wird doch dieser Tunichtgut ihnen nicht ewig auf der Tasche liegen. Aber seitdem der Sohn scheinbar kapituliert hat, ein großer Dichter zu werden, ist der Vater innerlich schon ausgesöhnt.⁶⁸⁵

⁶⁸⁴ Fredonia, folder 7, chapter 3, page b.

⁶⁸⁵ Fredonia, folder 7, chapter 3, page d.

This paragraph opening is revised:

Die Familie betrachtet mit bürgerlicher Zufriedenheit diese neue Wendung. Seit sie die ersten Kontrakte gesehen – achthundert Francs für das erste Machwerk und dann rasch aufsteigend bis zu zweitausend Francs für die Kompanie – findet sie die Beschäftigung Honorés nicht mehr so absurd. Vielleicht wird sich der Tunichtgut doch einmal auf eigene Beine stellen und ihnen nicht für alle Ewigkeit auf der Tasche liegen. Den Vater erfreut vor allem die Tatsache, daß sein Sohn scheinbar verzichtet hat, ein großer Dichter zu werden, und daß er durch die Wahl von allerhand den gutbürgerlichen Namen Balzac nicht in Verruf bringt. (BZ, p. 62)

The family's friendly faces become the eyes of bourgeois parents concerned more about their own pockets than their son's fortune. While the father's depiction stays consistent in his satisfaction that Balzac had given up on his hopes of becoming a 'Dichter', the mother's portrayal, following the negative depiction in the first chapters, is revised in a process of both deletion and expansion. The mother is initially described:

Auch Mama Balzac ist einigermaßen beruhigt, seit sie sieht, dass endlich ihr Sohn vernünftige, das heißt geschäftliche Ziele ins Auge gefasst hat, und sie kann nicht Klage führen, dass Honoré träge in seinem neuen Berufe sei. 'Honoré travaille à force', schreibt sie an ihre Tochter. 'J'aurai à le soigner avant trois mois s'il continue la vie qu'il mène.'⁶⁸⁶

The second draft not only renders the mother much more negatively but a whole different set of quotations has been employed in support of the revised portrayal. The following passage has been taken from the second draft directly, which shows the same text as the final edition but highlights the manuscript additions in brackets:

Mutter Balzac dagegen (die die schlimme Gabe besitzt, ihrem Sohn durch zudringliche Besorgtheit alles zu verderben,) betrachtet die in ihrem Hause etablierte Romanfabrik als Familiengelegenheit; sie und ihre Schwester spielen sich als Kritiker und Mithelfer auf. Sie beklagt – nicht als die letzte – den 'Mangel an Stil', aber als erste, dass 'Rabelais ihn verdorben hat'. Sie bedrängt ihn, 'sein Manuskript sorgfältig zu revidieren', und (man spürt, wie der Erwachsene dieser ewigen Bevormundung durch die Familie müde wird. Bald muss die Mutter, die sich ihre unerwünschte weinerliche Sorge um den verlorenen Sohn nicht

⁶⁸⁶ Fredonia, folder 7, chapter 3, page e.

abgewöhnen kann, melden: 'Honoré hat eine so dunkelhafte Vorstellung von sich und seinem Wissen, dass er jeden verletzen muss').⁶⁸⁷

The additions in this paragraph and the change of emphasis come at the expense of a deleted passage that presents the opposite sense of home:

Man kann das Staunen der Familie denken, wie großartig der junge Fabrikant ihr Misstrauen beschämt. Wahrscheinlich sieht Balzac zum erstenmal freundlichere Gesichter und hört er zum erstenmal im Elternhaus ein billigendes Wort. Und mit einem Ruck sieht der ewige Phantast nun schon alle Himmel offen.⁶⁸⁸

The second draft concludes this paragraph instead with the idea that 'die Luft der Familienstube [war] unerträglich' and that 'sein einziger Wunsch ist: nur wieder sich ein Zimmer in Paris erobern' (BZ, p. 63). The revision reverses the first draft's depiction of the family, facilitated by a new selection of quotations and by the continuation of a negative portrayal of the mother. The first draft shows at least the kinds of moderating historical facts and quotations that were considered for inclusion. By neglecting this moderation, the final text creates an intensified conflict against which the oppressed protagonist must struggle on his path towards freedom. Undoubtedly, the evidence exists for this trying family dynamic, from which Balzac sought to extricate himself, and yet this is all the final text allows the reader to understand. A closer study of the drafts therefore opens up the possibility of a moderated interpretation of the family. The text's revisionary practice seeks to render conflicts more intense and to shape a central figure that must unilaterally elevate himself to creative independence.

Exaggeration: The use of definitive adverbs

Rhetorical exaggeration is often highlighted by Lotte Zweig's or Richard Friedenthal's marginal notes. The use of 'immer', unpacked by Löwenthal as a reduction of historical contingency to types and cycles, often surfaces in *Balzac*. The tone for this trend is established from the beginning in the line 'Immer siegt [...] Dichtung über die Geschichte', an objectively rhetorical remark that masks itself as a kind of biographical law. In the tendency to refine every assessment to definitive and fundamental facts, the second draft triggers resistance by Lotte and

⁶⁸⁷ Fredonia, folder 6, chapter 3, page 8.

⁶⁸⁸ Fredonia, folder 7, chapter 3, page f.

Friedenthal, which pose questions about the revision process, as shapes a coherent and consistently triumphant creative figure.

In the typescript second draft with minor annotations by Friedenthal and Lotte, there are questions written alongside the text's more definitive generalising statements. Regarding Balzac's bankruptcy as a printer, Zweig surmises that '[d]ieser eine erste Fehler seines Lebens verdammt ihn, ewig Schuldner zu bleiben, und nie wird sich der Traum seiner Kindheit erfüllen, frei schaffen zu können und unabhängig zu sein'. In the margin, Lotte writes 'Wieso? Er hat doch viele hunderttausende verdient und immer wieder andere Schulden gemacht'.⁶⁸⁹ The question is provoked by the word 'ewig', which serves to condemn the hero to a fate of indebtedness at a point in the narrative when his career as a writer has not truly begun. In chapter 9, Lotte points to the use of 'immer', simply writing 'immer?' next to the passage:

Für Balzac, dem, einem umgekehrten Midas, alles was er berührt sich nicht in Gold sondern in Schulden verwandelt, wird es immer zur materiellen Katastrophe, wenn er sich in eine Frau verliebt oder wenn er sich eine Reise gönnt oder wenn er eine Spekulation versucht.⁶⁹⁰

By generalising Balzac's relationships, the text shapes a pattern of behaviour that must function in all examples and sees all subsequent episodes through that pre-defined lens. Such a typologisation detracts from the close analysis of individual episodes and from the mutability of Balzac's fate. In neither of these cases did Lotte's question effect a change in the final text. The definitive adverbs 'ewig', 'nie' and 'immer' render speculative assessments definitive and general, ultimately working to present a history of failures and successes that were inevitable.

Friedenthal is also attentive to generalising formulations and deletes certain lines that overplay this rhetorical hand. Two such deletions fall in chapter 14, which covers Balzac's legal difficulties with a publisher who printed a draft version of Balzac's *Le Lys de la Vallée* without the author's permission. The first edit appears in a sentence that describes Balzac's habit of being paid in advance on the condition of producing copy for a certain deadline:

Seit seinen ersten Erfolgen hat Balzac im Vollgefühl seiner Arbeitskraft, ~~für den ein Werk immer schon fertig ist, sobald er es im Kopf konzipiert hat,~~ die gefährliche Gewohnheit angenommen, sich diese Romane von den Zeitungen

⁶⁸⁹ Fredonia, folder 14, folio 146.

⁶⁹⁰ Fredonia, folder 15, folio 19.

oder Verlegern gegen die Verpflichtung der Ablieferung zu einem bestimmten Termin vorausbezahlen zu lassen.⁶⁹¹

Friedenthal excises the exaggerated generalisation, which is unverifiable, in order to retain only the factual detail of the sentence. Several pages later, Friedenthal cuts another passage, this one pertaining to Balzac's judicial success (although financially crippling) after taking the offending publishers to trial:

Immerhin: im juristischen Sinne gewonnen, ist der Prozess auch im moralischen Sinne für Balzac Bestärkung, weil Erfahrung. ~~Bei Balzac verwandeln sich Widerstände, Ärgernisse und Aufregungen durch eine geheimnisvolle Chemie immer wieder in dynamische Energie. Jede Niederlage auf einem Gebiet wird für ihn Anreiz, seine Kraft auf einem anderen Felde zu versuchen.~~⁶⁹²

Again, the editor decides against the inclusion of an 'immer' statement. Friedenthal is happy to leave the initial judgement, as it relates to the example in question. He allows Zweig the reflection that his subject gained some moral strength from the gruelling proceedings. Yet he resists the reiteration of a stark tension between defeat and productivity, between resistance and dynamic energy. The overemphasis on a direct proportionality between binary categories leads to an oversimplification of the historical situation. In this instance, it denies or co-opts any natural demoralisation at the financial situation purely into productive creative energy and material. Friedenthal's edits subtly curb the biographer's exaggeration without ultimately ridding the text of all its rhetorical overstatement, which would affect the style and tone the editor refrained from adapting.

Endings: Leaving out the Epilogue

Friedenthal suggests that the last chapters underwent rewriting by the editor, as they were only partially written. The archive confirms the fragmentary nature of these chapters and yet Friedenthal in most cases retains all the text that was written on Balzac's last years, and a full re-writing is not in evidence in the archive. One significant change that occurs, however, is the decision not to include an epilogue for which Zweig had drafted a three-page fragment and which concerned the year after Balzac's death, when Balzac's archive was salvaged by Spoelbergh de

⁶⁹¹ Fredonia, folder 17, folio 3.

⁶⁹² Fredonia, folder 17, folio 12.

Lovenjoul. Friedenthal correctly regards the epilogue as 'zu fragmentarisch für eine Veröffentlichung'⁶⁹³ but its removal surely changes the end of the biography.

The final chapter is brief, covering Balzac's death and burial. Friedenthal makes one addition by expanding the very last fragment with a long quotation from Victor Hugo's eulogy, which ends

Nein: es ist nicht das Unbekannte! Ich kann es schon bei einer anderen
schmerzlichen Gelegenheit gesagt, und ich werde nicht müde es zu wiederholen:
es ist nicht die Nacht – es ist das Licht. Es ist das Nichts – es ist die Ewigkeit. Es ist
nicht das Ende – es ist der Anfang. Ist das nicht wahr, ihr alle, die ihr mich hört?
Särge wie dieser sind ein Beweis der Unsterblichkeit [...]. (BZ, p. 521)

Zweig's final words then conclude the biography: 'Das sind die Worte, wie Balzac sie als Lebender nie vernommen hat. Vom Père Lachaise aus wird er wie der Held seines Werkes diese Stadt erobern'. A figure who has become pathetically incapacitated by illness in the preceding chapters and neglected by an unloving wife is ultimately venerated and given his due by a literary peer. Faithful to the situation of the narrative and its present-tense mode, the biography culminates with the end of the subject's life. The legacy is established in the words of Hugo and Balzac becomes the genius of the nineteenth century, whose works will be read into the future.

Zweig, however, planned throughout his composition that the narrative should end in 1851, the year after Balzac's death. A later chapter schema shows a twenty-seventh and final chapter: 'Die Witwe. Der Balzacomane Lowenjoul rettet den Nachlass'.⁶⁹⁴ This fragmentary epilogue exists in the archive and reveals the content intended to end the biography. It contains a description of the immediate aftermath, in which Balzac's widow is expectedly cold and unfeeling but 'Äußerlich erfüllt sie allerdings korrekt ihre Pflicht'.⁶⁹⁵ Her deceased husband's remaining papers are preserved, debts are paid off, writers are solicited with a view to completing fragmentary works. With Hanska's own death, Balzac's possessions become the subject of immediate auction and all the fakes in his possession, which he thought were of high value were sold piecemeal for not very much.

The final paragraph of the epilogue eventually comes to its main subject and, evidently, the subject with which Zweig actually sought to conclude the entire work: 'Dass in diesem unwürdigen Tum[u]lt aber das Kostbarste, der einzige wirkliche Wert der Hinterlassenschaft,

⁶⁹³ Friedenthal, p. 537.

⁶⁹⁴ Fredonia, folder 29.

⁶⁹⁵ Fredonia, folder 10.

der Nachlass Balzacs, gerettet wird, ist die Tat eines einzigen Mannes'.⁶⁹⁶ The text describes the lack of consideration afforded the loose Balzac manuscripts, as some pages were used to wrap auctioned goods and others just left strewn across the site. Ultimately, the material legacy is saved by a Balzac-obsessive thirty years later, and it is this notion, with all the accompanying autobiographical implications, which is the actual ending:

Aber Balzacs Genie schafft auch nach seinem Tode noch Gestalten aus seinen Werken. In der Vielfalt der COMEDIE HUMAINE und der Reihe seiner monomanischen Gestalten, die nur eine Leidenschaft haben, der sie leben, fehlte noch eine. Jetzt, dreissig Jahre nach seinem Tode, ersteht sie: der Balzacomane. Ein begeisterter Verehrer, ein besessener Sammler findet sich, der Baron Spoelberch de Lovenjoul. Es wird seine Lebensaufgabe, Balzacs literarisches Erbe zu retten, es zu sichten, zu ordnen, biographisch und bibliographisch zu erfassen. Unermüdlich läuft er von einem Laden zum andern und kauft die Manuskripte zurück; von Bedienten und Köchinnen sammelt er die zerstreuten Einzel-Blätter ein; er geht den Quellen nach bis zu den frühesten Anfängen des Dichters, den Erstausgaben, den Neuauflagen und den vielfach umgearbeiteten Versionen. Die Schätze, die heute im Museum in Chantilly vereinigt sind, wären ohne diesen Fanatiker der Balzac-Kunde verloren gegangen und in alle Winde zerstoßen, während sie uns heute dazu dienen, das erstaunliche Leben und Werk wieder aufzubauen, das die neuere Geistesgeschichte [sic] kennt.⁶⁹⁷

The text continues to employ the present tense and is not a fully distanced critical reflection on the events as much as it is a description in the historic present. Yet, by running on the narrative beyond the death of the subject, the epilogue does reveal a dissatisfaction with the biography's last word as Hugo's eulogy.

The neglected epilogue supplements Hugo's eulogy; it introduces Balzac's material legacy as the true carrier of immortality; and it adds a self-reflexive element around the significance of the *Balzacomane*, with whom the biographer unavoidably identifies. This focus on the material legacy is significant and supports the case for the work also being considered a biography of an archival-Balzac, of a palimpsestuous author constantly re-writing himself, then constantly read and re-articulated by the biographer. As well as a *Lebensroman*, the biography is also a continuous dialogue between biographer and subject in the form of extended

⁶⁹⁶ Fredonia, folder 10.

⁶⁹⁷ Fredonia, folder 10.

quotations from letters and works, and the constant inhabitation of the biographer in the working process gleaned from the engagement with the writer's workings, reworkings and unworkings. The conclusions are often reductive, and the drama often exaggerated and yet the same can be said about the subjects whose life, work, and process are enacted and exhibited through the biography. The epilogue had every intention of ending the literary life with the preservation of the Balzac's manuscripts, and not simply with the last days of the life itself. This suggests it is a biography of a *Lebensroman*-hero and of an archival-Balzac, with which the *Balzacomane* Zweig had a lifelong interaction.

19 The Immense Palimpsest of History

Zweig's Balzac project was not simply an encounter with a literary personality, but it was a lifelong encounter with text. The biographer, as literary historian, considered history itself a text that demanded poetic expression:

die Weltgeschichte [...] ist ja kein komplettes, ausgedrucktes Buch, das man von Anfang bis zu Ende lesen kann, sondern sie ist ein riesiges Palimpsest, ein zusammengestoppeltes, nein, ein zu neun Zehnteln verdorbenes Manuskript; hunderte Seiten sind unentzifferbar, tausende aber verschollen und nur durch Kombination, durch Phantasie in ihrem Zusammenhang zu ergänzen. Diese zahllosen rätselhaften Stellen in der Geschichte müssen natürlich den Dichter zur Ergänzung, zur Erdichtung reizen.⁶⁹⁸

Faced with a kind of world history articulated in hundreds of Balzac's works, in the *Lebensroman* itself, and in the infinite possibilities of documented compositional history, Zweig, the empathetic psychologist, poeticizes a life that was in constant self-definition. Some critics suggest that the poetic approach is fully appropriate to capture something of the absurdity of the Balzac phenomena. Zweig scholars point to the biographer's willingness to undermine his protagonist in his period as writer of pulp fiction and his willingness to point to the 'Aristokratomanie' and social failures that form part of the figure's mythology. Ultimately, for Zweig, these flaws and obsessions form part of an all-encompassing genius of excess in all domains, an excess that makes its way into the biographical rhetoric and composition. It is

⁶⁹⁸ Stefan Zweig, 'Die Geschichte als Dichterin', in *Zeit und Welt*, p. 350.

Zweig's most excessive biography – the longest, most detailed, most frequently rebuking – and that detail works also to complicate the harmonious genius narrative that attends Zweig's biographical mode. Its full complication emerges in a consideration of the full creative process, if not the full creative engagement over decades; thousands of pages written and re-written to articulate the thousands of pages of Balzac's textual life. That prolonged engagement transformed into an urgency in 1939 to tell the life of this Romantic-realist visionary, to write the melodrama of the quintessential melodramatic imagination, what Zweig thought would be his masterpiece. Yet, as Balzac's Frenhofer shows, masterpieces are not simply definitive works, but impossible ones. Put another way, what makes Zweig's *Balzac* definitive for his œuvre is precisely its impossibility. And that impossibility was not simply circumstantial – although the biography also embodies Zweig's final years – but part of the fundamental logic of a project that negotiated an excessive personality and a poetics of incompleteness.

Conclusion

*Denn Lust ist es immer, einem Künstler sich hinzugeben,
der selber so herrlich sich hinzugeben weiß und damit
glorreich bezeugt, daß die Demut vor fremdem Werk
nicht Schwäche verrät, sondern die schönste
schöpferische Kraft auf Erden.*

Zweig, 'Bruno Walter: Kunst der Hingabe'

This thesis has attempted to return Zweig's writing to a material context and thereby counter harmonizing critiques, of which Zweig was himself accused. It has left space for elements of biographically oriented analysis, especially in regard to eulogies and *Balzac*, both of which are complicated through the personality of their writing. It thus argues, with Wellbery, that discourse analysis – the kinds of which generalize the rhetorical strategies of eulogies and simplify the tensions in the manuscript essays – does not 'attend[] to the specific texture of the corpus', nor do 'the regularities that define a discourse [...] saturate its individual instances', nor does it finally 'define the *singularity of the text*, which (inevitably?) contains moments that escape, disturb or contravene discursive regulations.⁶⁹⁹ Thus, this thesis is grounded on difference, on singularity, as much as it is on finding commonalities.

Nevertheless, Zweig's fundamental concepts of creativity and service to cultural memory bind the three sections together. These concepts themselves reveal further constellations of motifs shared across the disparate material. First, the binary immortal-mortal runs through the thesis, as it maps onto the binaries: inspiration-work, spirit-matter, exceptional-average, divine-terrestrial, which all divide the inexplicable from the perceptible and situate the *secret* inbetween. Second, Zweig's penchant for the *momentous* emerges across his work but is in tension with a sense of duration, which is especially prominent in the manuscript essays that sometimes *labour* the processual experience and other times dissolve it in view of a divine and fugitive moment of inspiration. And third, the spatial correlate to the moment-duration binary, the balance between process and stasis has been ever-present in this

⁶⁹⁹ David E. Wellbery, *The Specular Moment: Goethe's Early Lyric and the Beginnings of Romanticism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), p. 19.

thesis. Process has been re-read into Zweig's manuscript reading experience, but that *material turn* must be qualified by a rhetorical *seizure* in the same experience. Awestruck *Nacherleben* struggles against an idiom that articulates a sensate *Mitleben*. The eulogies have been re-framed as entailing a mourning *process* that is unresolved and that might only initiate further memorial processes. At the same time, Zweig's immortalizing impulse also tends towards *fixing* a legacy, concentrating on crystallizing a pure perfection that is *above* challenge and re-interpretation. *Balzac* is both a document on innate genius, denying creative development to the benefit of repeatedly exemplifying a genius of all domains, and a messy, incomplete work-in-progress, bursting at the seams, as it attempts to incorporate an immense palimpsestuous textual body into the ultimate manifestation of a lifelong engagement.

These tensions pose questions around Zweig's responsibility to the object of focus, that is, whether in the mediation of others, of manuscripts, of the deceased, Zweig does justice to the thing itself, or whether, as many critics have it, Zweig privileges a personal narrative or ideal in a manipulation of the thing itself. Both are possible positions and this thesis's focus on the singularity of texts means that both are true. It is therefore possible for Clive James to write about Zweig:

Where is the man, behind that universal curiosity and suspiciously mellifluous style? [...] Well the answer is he is not behind them: he is in them. Zweig was the sum total of all his appreciations, to which his style gave the spiritual unity that they never had in life.⁷⁰⁰

And it is possible for Görner to make the case for the opposite, an approach he identifies as 'Essayieren':

Es meint ein Sich-Versuchen am anderen, eine Annäherung, keine Vereinnahmung, einen Zugang zum anderen Leben, den weniger Vorsicht als vielmehr das Vornehme im Sinne Nietzsches bestimmt, meist sympathetische Distanz, das Benennen der Würde im Scheitern, das Einmalige in jedem Individuum. *Das* war die *humanitas*, die Zweigs biographisches Essayieren bestimmte: ein Sich-Versuchen ohne dabei selbst in Versuchung zu geraten, sich mit dem Biographierten auf eine Stufe zu stellen, sich ihm anzubiedern [...].⁷⁰¹

⁷⁰⁰ James, p. 840.

⁷⁰¹ Rüdiger Görner, 'Schreiben über Stefan Zweig', *Zweigheft*, 13 (2015), 15-24 (pp. 16-17).

Zweig is in his texts, whether that is the confident self-assertion of a unifying ego as James might contend, or whether he is absorbed into the text, giving himself to the object. These genres inevitably reflect their author, however mediatory or passive, what Zweig in relation to his manuscript collection called the 'Spiegel und Bildnis meiner Lebensneigung', or what Raddatz in relation to eulogies calls 'jenes Element des Autobiographischen im Spiegel des jeweils Anderen'.⁷⁰²

Underlying that self-portrait, whether that self is representative of a wider society, of an other, of an ideal, is an idea of (self-)preservation. '[D]eath (more exactly, awareness of mortality) is the ultimate condition of cultural creativity as such,' in the way that culture is about creating permanence, transcending mortality, through its main activities: survival and immortality.⁷⁰³ Zweig's service to cultural heritage must be considered as a preservation *and* a reaction to the threat of oblivion. This inherent precarity becomes prominent over time as the art of constructing memory becomes the art of taking leave from those very memories:

Denn wenn wir Gejagten und Vertriebenen in diesen Zeiten, die jeder Kunst und jeder Sammlung feind sind, eine Kunst noch neu zu lernen hatten, so war es die des Abschiednehmens von allem, was einstens unser Stolz und unsere Liebe gewesen. (WVG, p. 378)

What Zweig articulates reflecting on the fate of his manuscript collection, applies to the art of eulogy, and to a biography that was begun explicitly on the brink of end times, as a testament and swan-song. In other words, culture has always been about survival in a real way. That precarity sits at the heart of Zweig's faith in humanity's cultural potential, continually at risk for a modern subject who experienced two World Wars and an age that progressed in the opposite direction to the supra-nationalism, pacifism and European spiritual unification to which he devoted his creative practice. The secret of creation becomes not just a philosophical aesthetic category, not simply a phenomenological productive impossibility for the awestruck reader, but a moral imperative to remember and survive. Culture is a life strategy; to delve into its origins, into fundamental human potential, is to engage with processes of staving off death, a death that was part of the political logic and threatened everywhere.

⁷⁰² Raddatz, p. v.

⁷⁰³ Bauman, pp. 4-6.

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